

**A comparative study of The Boer War conveyed in the 1901 political cartoons of Edward
Linley Sambourne in *Punch* and Jean Veber in *L'Assiette au Beurre*.**

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Acknowledgements

‘Political cartoons? You study cartoons for a PhD? Are you serious? What the hell is happening to your universities?’ (Bob Forbes, 2005)

This is a typical knee-jerk reaction to a well-respected but little understood form of savage wit and humour, and shows antipathy toward fresh avenues of enquiries in the academy. Forbes’ cynicism, coming from a media and business mogul, is ironic, and on reflection only serves to spur me on to explain why political cartoons matter as conveyors of opinion and ‘truths’. It is important to find out how they operate in an academic context to expose a finer critique of events that are otherwise not immediately appreciated.

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Abstract

Political cartoons as headline representation are in effect a combination of artistic licence and a critical version of the truth. Linley Sambourne and Jean Veber's 1901 cartoons on the Boer War for *Punch* and *L'Assiette au Beurre* create tensions and dialectic not only on British and French feeling about foreign policy in South Africa and at home, but also indicate fine points on each publication's editorial remit. This comparative study is a mirroring synthesis of these approaches that sets the Boer War forty five cartoons in context.

Whereas *Punch's* cartoons are set within a text layout and *L'Assiette's* are the text themselves, both transmit set ideas on The Boer War as 'sight bite' news and opinion pieces. Veber's cartoons offered swift knee-jerk reactions against the ruling elite and the horrors of British cruelty toward Boer prisoners as coverage of the war escalated in 1901. His extreme capturing of the zeitgeist followed the magazine's editorial bent, but they also reflected his brave counter-hegemonic stance towards a French government seeking an alliance with its British counterpart. With this in mind, Antonio Gramsci's theory on hegemony as applied to journalism allows the scholar to look at the media from a cultural perspective. This focus is used to show cartoons as representative of conflicts in the fight for power, but this time publicly conveyed to the readership. Thus, types of truth enhancements in each set of cartoons indicate the cartoonists' respective entrenchment with, or detachment from, Imperial institutions, thereby signalling emerging attempts of the attitudinal persuasion of the reader toward *Punch* or *L'Assiette's* political leanings.

The inclusion of political cartoons in editorial pages was part of the cult of visual attention-grabbing news values that had become professionalised, industrialised and popularised by the early Twentieth Century. Cartoons can be decoded using Ernst Gombrich's six-point filter in order to identify the cartoonist's method of compressing messages about

people and events. A publication's politics are reflected in the telescoping of exaggerated opinions – an effective way to pass on an authoritatively saturated message to the readership. Gombrich recognised the power of conveying messages to the audience through seemingly incongruous placement of figures in odd situations within cartoons. His methodology acts as visual shorthand for images designed to elicit a desired response to a reported situation as the publication saw it. In the context of the history of journalism, his psychologically analytical approach is appropriate in the appreciation of cartoons' extremes, often made more acute by the partisan politics of war.

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INTRODUCTION

‘Man is the only animal that laughs and weeps, for he is the only animal that is struck by the difference between what things are and what they ought to be.’

William Hazlitt (1818)

In cartoons about war, opinions are often polarised in a brutal manner and the reader is left in no doubt about the cartoonist’s version of events. Attached to newspapers, cartoons make very effective conveyors of an editorial slant. A look at cartoon coverage of the Second Boer War (1899-1902) by Linley Sambourne of *Punch* and Jean Veber of *L’Assiette au Beurre* proves to be no different at first. However, closer scrutiny affords a view of more complex perspectives on the construct of the images, their parent magazines’ political approach, and apparent undercurrents of opinion about events in the Boer War in 1901. Thus, does the headline representation of their cartoons on the Boer War combine artistic licence with a critical version of historical accounts?

Whilst studies of historical, cultural, visual theories and art historical analysis abound, and exhibition catalogues on cartoons or books using cartoons are plentiful, it is sadly a neglected phenomenon in the academy that editorial cartoons are not much studied, even within their own journalistic context. In order to make sense of such powerful images about the Boer War, it is necessary to draw from a broad and deep range of academic fields of study because the subject of these cartoons traverses the boundaries of journalism history, art history and studies about the war. It is appropriate to adopt an interdisciplinary and comparative methodological approach in order to explain the phenomenon of political cartoons as conveyors of opinion about the Boer War.

This thesis is constructed through a chapter on historical, journalistic and cartoon contexts: one on the role of cartoons, a literature review and a methodological exposition, then three substantive chapters in which the primary evidence is analysed, followed by a discussion and conclusion. The core sample of forty five cartoons will be examined in a three-layer approach using qualitative and quantitative methods.

The primary research question in tackling this often fugitive subject matter begins with a simple comparison: what differences can be seen between the 1901 Boer War cartoons of Sambourne in *Punch* and of Jean Veber in *L'Assiette au Beurre*? The linking of the main research question with the argument permits a wide range of enquiry about the role of cartoons through the narrative of The Boer War. This fused sense of scrutiny is also represented in terms of asking questions about conceptual points of contention on the nature of Nationalism, as well as perceived masculine and feminine roles at the time. Historical, art historical and journalistic theoretical analysis will show how images are indicators of commentary on the Boer War, examining diverse levels of superimposed meaning involved in the editorial and illustrative aspects of these cartoons. The objectives are firstly to analyse the interpretation of these texts and images in relation to how they reflect the political nature of the magazines. This will be done by studying the period's history of journalism, in particular through Antonio Gramsci's hegemonic and subsequent interpretations of counter-hegemonic analytical frames. Secondly, my aim is to assess how the differences in style and captions can be interpreted, for example as a comment on national foreign policy. Thirdly, it is important to examine how far the variations in executions by each cartoonist represent the positions of the respective journals as examples of differing editorial slants, in particular through Ernst Gombrich's analytical framework. Fourthly, it is important to ask whether those exaggerations serve different purposes at different times in context.

In 1901, events and media coverage on the Boer War were at a peak of importance. The Boer War was the first media war where both media and subject were aware of and manipulated each other through speed of news delivery and use of moving and still film (Chapman, 2005, pp.112, 116-7). Newspaper and periodical readers followed the progress of the war avidly. The British press lionized its heroes; the French press took them apart. Consequently, cartoons in magazines such as *Punch* and *L'Assiette au Beurre* reflected polarized opinions of the people, policies and events of the Boer War in 1901.

The sources raise a number of research questions for each cartoon that is analysed. Can exaggerations of historical fact be defined and calibrated as cartoons about a particular event that serve different purposes at different times? It is important to ask if Veber's cartoons contain more or less accurate historical 'accuracy' than Sambourne's, and to determine reasons why this is so, and to analyse the tension and dialectic set up about truth and enhancement through a comparison of their work. It is necessary to ask if these reasons are due to Sambourne's perceived entrenchment within the British Imperial institution and, alternatively, Veber's detachment from those types of structure. Thus it follows that the thesis should explore how each artist's work conveys variant appeals to types of authenticity, in a comparison of how Sambourne may support the hegemonic *status quo*, through calm realism with a humourous twist, with Veber's appeal to a sense of outrage in his testosterone-fuelled images. Further questions also arise.

1. Does the set of cartoons reflect any aspect of the context of the history of cartoons?

Analysis of differences represented in the magazines may indicate their position within the theoretical constructs of the history of journalism, in particular through the hegemonic and counter-hegemonic analytical frameworks and focusing on Gramsci's perspective.

2. Do variations in representation show differences of opinion on certain topics, for example on aspects of foreign policy? An examination of variations in representations may show how they act as commentary on British foreign policy, use of the female and male form functioning as interpretations of each publication's polemic on the Boer War.
3. Do specific illustrative styles demonstrate differences in editorial approach of the magazines? Gombrich's six-point filter provides an essential tool, and applied to qualitative and quantitative data produces evidence of measurable results to convey those differences.

Thus, the format allows an assessment of how far the variations in execution of these cartoons represent the position of the respective journals as examples of differing editorial slants. The research questions ask if there is a finer division and appreciation of data than perhaps previously appreciated in scholarship about editorial cartoons.

Summary of Chapters

Chapter One outlines the historical context of the war (hereafter, I shall refer to the Second Boer War as 'the war'), its contemporary journalistic background, the magazines' support or undermining of Imperialism connected to the war, and the artists' individual reactions to the war's events in 1901. The 'Role of Cartoons' chapter is designed as an introduction into the ways cartoons operate as conveyers of meaning. The chapter argues that cartoons are far more important in demonstrating opinions about an event than newspaper illustrations, because cartoons as a construct convey meaning and knowledge telescoped onto them other than a simple relation of an occasion or attached pictorial historicisation. Analysis of such forms will compare the types of 'facts' represented, with certain refinements using the operational schema of objectives, research questions, theoretical frameworks and methodology,

in order to assess the validity of these claims to historical truth. Quantitative data and findings show similarities and differences in percentages between the two cartoonists' Boer War work; these findings are integrated through other chapters and provide numerical support for the thesis' argument.

The Literature Review in Chapter Three is split into roughly four parts: cartoon history, visual history, journalism historical analysis including historiographical perspectives, and editorial images of the Boer War. The search also includes some perspectives in the discussion about the Boer War, war images, historical, art historical or visual culture appraisals and so on, none of which on their own seem to deal in depth with the question of how editorial cartoons operate as conveyors of exaggerated historical opinion about the Boer War. In addition, historiographical scholars (particularly van Hartesfeldt, 2000) note that, for example, Boer War historians have tended to focus on whatever perspective is dominant at the time of writing their analysis. The way in which the Boer War is written about is complex and sometimes confusing, depending as these histories do upon what interested or preoccupied society at a given time. For instance, perhaps it is possible to gauge how in the expansionist nineteenth century British and French historians tended to view the history of their countries as one of the triumphs of civilization over barbarism.

In Chapter Four, 'Methodology: The Three-Level Methodological Approach Explained', the chapter uses quantitative data analysis that will support Gombrich's six-part filter cartoon classification system, and underscores the qualitative findings in understanding cartoons as conveyors of extremes and subtleties of opinion about the Boer War. It also introduces the three-part approach by which a political cartoon can be most usefully appreciated in context. Therefore the most effective method of comprehending editorial cartoons is to see them in their historical context (here the Second Boer War) combined with Gramscian theory as applied to journalistic and imperial hegemony and complemented using Gombrich's art historical

expertise. The methodology chapter may demonstrate that, though a cartoon can only properly be understood within its cultural context as an expression of political opinion of a news story, it is the three-level analytical approach that broadens the discussion of editorial cartoons into the theoretical frameworks of the academy.

The following analysis chapters explore data qualitatively and quantitatively through various themes, each focusing on an analysis of Gombrich's filters and Gramsci's perspective in context and exploring types of enhanced reported 'truths' about the war. They explore the role of cartoon as exaggerated historical documents in the following thematic divisions: the idea of Nationalism, identity and opinion on foreign policy: the male figure and notions of responsibility and accountability: power and politics of the female form.

Chapter Five's theme of 'Constructing the Enemy: Nationalism, Imperialism and Patriotism' examines extreme or subtle ideas projected in political cartoons about foreign policy as politicised in editorial cartoons. Censorship was a major issue in France and *L'Assiette* drew the eye of the French authorities who were particularly nervous about projecting the right image abroad. When a vicious cartoon of King Edward VII appeared in *L'Assiette*'s September 28th 1901 edition, the French police seized every copy they could find and insisted modifications be made to subsequent reprints.

Chapter Six's theme of 'Heroes and Villains' explores the role of the *fin-de-siècle* male as either responsible or accountable for events in the Boer War, depending on which perspective the cartoonist adopted. The chapter investigates how male figures may be transformed from responsible heroes managing a difficult war to 'monsters' accountable for atrocities committed against Boer prisoners. An argument explores how such cartoons as these rely on a polarised view, coupled with a version of reported 'fact', may make masculinist myths about war, and in what way these myths might be institutionalized editorially in the

magazines. Inverse ideas of morality in Sambourne and Veber's cartoons will be considered in order to determine whether some 'weak' figures are indicative of moral strength – one example being the hopeless Boer prisoners in 'Les Progrès de la Science' (Plate 52) throwing themselves onto an electric fence - may be seen as morally superior to the tiny watching British soldiers. A psychological aspect is applied that examines the presence and nature of male unconscious and subconscious apparent in the cartoonists' drawings of men in order to determine types of reaction to certain horrific images of the war. Another question to be asked in this section: how have gender studies added to the debate about the Boer War with particular reference to perceptions of the male image?

The final data analysis section, Chapter Seven: 'Power and Politics of the Female Form', asks several questions about the role of the female figure in Boer War cartoons. Aspects of gender studies also pose questions about feminine and feminist issues. In what way do political cartoons about the role and fate of men and women affect a reading of communicating information about the Boer War? How did the female form, associated with Empire or not, dictate a sense of power or silent suffering portrayed in each cartoon? Facets of brutality or subtlety of representation will be analysed through Gombrich's six-point pictorial filter system. An examination of Boer War cartoons through Gramsci's theory may demonstrate how each composition represents either an idea of hegemonic structures or a counter-hegemonic protest against the *status quo*. It is important to ask how the two magazines offer a succinct commentary on the use of female form as victor or victim in editorial cartoons at this critical time, perhaps resulting in the silencing and disenfranchisement of women in the cartoons. Overall, analysis of questions and lines of argument in each chapter may serve to strengthen the main argument – that the headline representations of Linley Sambourne and Jean Veber on the Boer War combine artistic exaggeration with a critical version of the truth.

What this thesis does not attempt to do is to supply a comprehensive survey of cartoons, either in art or journalism history, French or British, or cover every cartoon about the Boer War. This remit would be far too wide a scope for such a detailed study of cartoons in a particular context. Another characteristic not analysed in depth is the news value of cartoons as part of discourse-level features of a newspaper story's genesis, assemblage and framing. This type of analysis is more appropriate for the study of mass circulation of papers than of specialist magazines' small print-runs. The collection of forty five cartoons acts as a reflection of certain points of view about the war, with particular attention paid to two cartoonists' techniques that convey their publications' selling of critical accounts of the truth about the war.

Political cartoons function as structures for the organization of types of historical knowledge in the way they make use of various rhetorical devices, such as metaphors, catch-phrases, and portrayals that profess to summarize the essence of an issue or event graphically (Gombrich, 1956 – more of this later in the Methodology Chapter). As William Gamson and David Stuart have argued, cartoons “offer a number of different condensing symbols that suggest the core frame” of the issue (Gamson & Stuart, 1992, p.60). Thus, they assert that political cartoons transmit discursive possibilities for understanding reported and historical phenomena; “they legitimate (and thus facilitate) the grounds upon which some things can be said and others impeded” (*ibid.*, p.60). The structural organization of knowledge about Boer War events within this kind of visual discourse may lead to what Dennis Mumby and Carole Spitzack term as “metaphoric entrapment” (Mumby & Spitzack, 1983, 34, pp.162-71). They further elaborate: “The way in which a concept is understood becomes so tied up with a particular metaphoric structure that alternative ways of viewing that concept are obscured, or else appear to make less sense” (Mumby & Spitzack, in Wittebols, 1991 1(3), p.263). Thus for them, a visual image and its caption provide hints to favoured meanings and the kinds of

outcomes or consequences that the artist feels may legitimately arise from the issue or event being portrayed.

Primary Sources

Primary sources for *Punch* and *L'Assiette* are found in The British Library (BL) in London. *The Punch Collection* consists of uncatalogued letters, editors' notes, documents and sundry legal paperwork existing in *Punch's* incomplete archives. These records were bought in 2004 by the BL from the *Punch* Cartoon Library in Knightsbridge and are now housed in St Pancras. Sources on Linley Sambourne are in the Sambourne Family Archive at Kensington and Chelsea's Central Library. Bound copies of *L'Assiette* are held by the BL (P.P.4283.gae) and the Bibliotheque Nationale (BN) (FRBNF32703372), are both listed as full runs from 1901-1912. Oxford University's Taylor Institution holds an incomplete run but their 1901 album is however complete and contains advertisements and flyers (X.OUT.D.1 See Appendix B, p.259). A very important find also in the Oxford edition was a copy of a two-page manifesto, dated 4th April 1901, and Jean Veber's 'Marianne' bound into it; the manifesto is missing from the BL version, and 'Marianne' and advertisements are missing from La Bibliothèque Nationale's copy (hereafter BN). The complete album offers a rare glimpse into the ideas behind *L'Assiette's* publication and manner of promotion.

British and French newspaper sources consulted are at the British Library's Newspaper Reading room, available on the online catalogue, and from the Bibliotheque Nationale (Mitterrand) in Paris. Public and private papers for General Horatio Herbert Kitchener, the Minister for War John Brodrick, and Prime Minister Lord Salisbury are available in The War Office, Home Office and Colonial files at The National Archives (NA) in Kew. The primary data is evidence of the business of the Boer War and subsequent concerns springing from its

protracted course, for example the high number of deaths in the camps is noted alongside commentary about filthy conditions by Emily Hobhouse, also in the War Office section (NA - WO 30/110, W032, WO129), the Colonial Office (NA, CO7, CO 537/453), the Home Office (HO), Hobhouse Papers and the Kitchener Papers (NA, PRO 30/57/16). The National Archives also holds diplomatic files containing the correspondence of London's Ambassador to Paris Sir Edmund Monson with Paul Cambon, his French opposite number, and that of Home Secretary Lord Lansdowne; these three discuss a controversial image in *L'Assiette* and moot possible censorship (I shall go into more detail on this subject later) (NA, FO/27/3532-37). The Archives de Paris et de la Seine (APS) hold lists of liquidations including several files about *Assiette* owner Sigismond Schwarz's complicated business affairs in which he seems to declare bankruptcy three times between 1902 and 1906 (APS 25/64/1).ⁱ However it is not noted in these archives how or why he became bankrupt. Les Archives Nationales (AN) in particular in Paris, also hold certain accounts of *L'Assiette's* payment of tax to the Ministry of the Interior in 1901 (AN F¹⁸/ (111) 221. See Appendix B: 258). In addition the AN houses police records F⁷ and F¹⁴ that contain accounts of newspaper and magazine publications. President Emile Loubet's private papers of correspondence with King Edward VII do not specifically discuss *Assiette's* disrespectful image of the King but there are a few copies of the offending image in various stages of censorship (AN, AP473/12 [Dossier 3]).

On the cartoonists Jean Veber and Linley Sambourne, there are varying amounts of sources about their lives and work. Sambourne left a work diary sometimes listing the cartoons he was commissioned to draw, as well as his enormous collection of some 20,000 photographs used as an expedient drawing aid: these are now held in the Sambourne Family Archive (SFA) (ST/1, ST/1/1, ST/2, ST/4, ST/8). Primary sources for Veber are almost non-existent; the only contemporary record of his life is that written by his brother Pierre Veber (Veber & Lacroix,

1931) who makes scant reference to Jean's work for *L'Assiette*, preferring to outline his life as an artist rather than as a cartoonist.

Approaching Visual Evidence as Primary Sources

In order to understand cartoons as evidence of war historiography, it is necessary to invert traditional analysis of the interrelation and circulation of diverse cultural forms of the nineteenth century, especially in the magazines and newspapers. This approach avoids starting a question about the place of words as the primary source, and focusing instead on the complex mediations of visual and material culture in relation to those words. Studying these mediations means the scholar must ask about the dialogues between different modes of popular culture and the advent of technology, daily consumption of news and graphic styles, as well as the emergence of literary genres that enjoyed large reading publics. We must ask, what is the genealogy that controlled historiographical production, or the mechanism for producing a sense of the war, in a society trained to read visual formats? In a society that read narratives based on images—from the engravings appearing on loose leaves and 'live' paintings to parades and dioramas—how was it possible to build a lettered repertoire capable of interacting with a visually inclined public? It is no surprise that newspapers and magazines incorporated rapidly new technologies allowing them to reproduce images that would illustrate their pages and thus convert them into exhibition showcases. News values may be attached to cartoons as part of a publication's take on any given story or comment coverage – I shall discuss this further in the Literature Review chapter. It is essential to assimilate a sense of the tension and dialectic in order to appreciate varying opinions about historical 'truths' and the nature of possible representations of the Boer War.

The academic study of political cartoons is problematic as it straddles a peculiar area where many disciplines meet. In order to understand this strange position, we need to take on

board several factors inherent in the analysis of journalistic and editorial cartooning material. These factors demand an appreciation of the nature of cartoons, cartoonists, the publication, historical context, the topic and a notion of the target audience. It is also important to consider the study of *Punch* and *L'Assiette*'s cartoons of the Boer War, the so-called 'first media war', as examples of continuity of traditional aesthetic forms as opposed to those changes attached to the popularisation, technological advances and mass production of daily newspapers emerging at the end of the nineteenth century (Chapman, 2005. pp.71, 112). In addition a Gramscian perspective underpins a working approach by which political cartoons are placed in the context of their history. This comparative study of forty-five cartoons on the Boer War in 1901 is a synthesis of these approaches. Drawing on the work of Gombrich, Thomas Pakenham, and Gramsci, the thesis shows how the cartoons' extremes of pictorialisation owe more to visual analytical traditions than to purist, semiotic or general theory. Other perspectives have not served so well to explain the phenomenon (Barthes, 1976; Kristeva, 1984; Hall, 1999; Kress & van Leeuwen, 1998; Cotter, 2010).

Political cartoonists affiliated to a publication are often seen as critics of people and events. However in this case their nationalistic work about war often displays exaggerated traits as debate polarises opinion. With polarization comes extreme portrayal. A critical look at British and French magazine cartoons, specifically from *Punch* and *L'Assiette au Beurre*, shows that organs covering propaganda in cartoon form represent problems of classification and interpretation. This is especially acute when images are invested with a political angle telescoped upon them. Some images demonstrate radical pictorialisation of opinion about national symbols. Others are attached to historical and journalistic context but show polarity of international positioning. The thesis will show how the differences between two groups of cartoons combining exaggeration and relation of historical 'fact' on one image are understood as conveyors of each magazine's editorial slant on the serious business of war.

Polar Opposites?

Thus, on the face of it, the two magazines adopt opposing positions about the Boer War. However questions must be asked about their representations of events in the Boer War and foreign policies determined by that war. The chapters that follow attempt to explore more deeply the subtle lines of enquiry suggested by a close comparison of Sambourne and Veber's Boer War cartoons for *Punch* and *L'Assiette*. The application of the three-level methodological approach will assist in making a formal analysis, framing the cartoons in theoretical, historical and art historical contexts. The flexibility of the approach will also be tested practically and theoretically throughout the thesis. The comparison may also demonstrate if and how similarities or differences occur in the two cartoonists' work, in qualitative and quantitative terms, and if they use the same devices to convey each magazine's very different polemic on the war. Thus, as the argument develops through an examination of cartoons as primary sources inspired by the 'first cartoon war' of the twentieth century, it may be asked if the headline representation of Boer War cartoons is a combination of artistic amplification and a version of historical certainty, and if they are more than simple vitriolic opinion.

CHAPTER ONE – Contexts

Setting the Scene in 1901: England, France and The Boer War - The First Editorial Cartoon War of the Twentieth Century and Cartoon Representation

In 1901, Queen Victoria, the head of the most powerful nation on Earth, died. Support for the Boer War by the Imperialist press clashed with protests of the liberal press; the latter preferring to concentrate not always on the question of bi-partisanism, but increasingly on a neutral concern of the welfare of the camp inmates. The events and media coverage of the Second Boer War were considered to be of great significance to the newspaper and magazine readership and by *Punch* and *L'Assiette's* editors and cartoonists. In the second of two wars between the British and the Afrikaners (chiefly the Boers) over gold and ultimately land, the Boer War achieved notoriety for military incompetence and furthermore great human suffering and death in the concentration camps [Plate 1, see separate volume]. Events in the war attracted criticism from allies and enemies alike, but none as vitriolic as that from Britain's oldest enemy, France.

Protesting Against The Boer War: Anti-British Feeling in Cartoons

The French were still smarting after the humiliation of the Fashoda Incident in 1898. They envied the British rule over Egypt and her claim to the Sudan. General Kitchener had secured the British claim to Sudan at the Battle of Omdurman in 1898. The French army sent an expedition 400 miles south to Fashoda in Sudan, trying to outflank the British. Here they were confronted by Kitchener and after much tense debate, the French withdrew. It was a great

loss of face. It also symbolized France's decline in military, political and diplomatic terms. The start of the Boer War in 1899 caused old enmities to resurface. By 1901 and with Kitchener's appearance in South Africa, the British saluted their hero and the French press had a personal enemy to lambast. The two magazines reflect their Nation's respective views.

The French expressions of *l'ennemie héréditaire* and *notre meilleur ennemi* refer to the English, and antipathic feeling arises at sporting occasions and reaches fever pitch in times of war. The one thousand-year relationship built up between the British and the French is based on squabbles, diplomatic successes (or failures depending on each side's bias) and outright warfare. It is a fallacy that *L'Entente Cordiale* in some fashion formalized a happy and cordial relationship that was reputedly enjoyed at a certain point in history by both Nations. The *Entente* was a series of agreements eventually signed up to in 1904 and included certain undertakings to allow each nation to conduct its business with minimum interference. An example of one such exchange is an undertaking by Britain to permit the French to preserve order and provide assistance in their colony of Morocco, and in return the French agreed not to obstruct British actions in Egypt. Thus the document allowed that each country was at liberty to develop its interests without hindrance. The French cartoonists disagreed vehemently with each stage and by 1901 the British and French negotiations focused the cartoonists' attention on the excess cruelties of the Boer War.

Amongst the French artists who fashioned unforgettable, and often ferocious, anti-British cartoons during La Belle Époque were Alfred le Petit (1841-1909), Charles Léandre (1862-1930) and Jean Veber (1864-1928). Léandre and Le Petit were the best proponents of the 1890s fancy-portrait, a style cultivated by André Gill (1840-85), and often used this type of personal caricature (tiny bodies supporting big heavily detailed heads) to draw ruthless caricatures of Queen Victoria, Edward VII, General Kitchener and Colonial Secretary Joseph Chamberlain. Léandre's best-known cartoons from the period include a portrait of Edward VII dressed as

Victoria holding a tiny globe (*Le Rire*, 1901, February 2nd) and ‘England the Eternal Champion of Justice, Upholder of the Weak’ (*Le Rire*, 1899, October 7th). This latter cartoon, published four days before war was declared, was on the magazine’s front cover in full colour. Queen Victoria sits on President Kruger's head and assails him with her bodkin and bears on her back a fuming cannon and a sack of dum-dum bullets (special bullets made in Dum Dum, India, which made massive holes in their victims and were proscribed by international treaties).

Contemporary German artists were equally unpleasant in their attacks on Britain. Such was their impact that *Punch*’s Bernard Partridge (1861-1945) drew a cartoon protesting against them. His 'Out of Drawing' shows John Bull peering over the shoulder of an elderly bespectacled German artist who is drawing him as a devil-tailed lunatic holding two bloody daggers. The caption reads: “Mr Bull: ‘Here, hang it all, I'm not like that! There must be something wrong with those glasses of yours!’” (Bernard Partridge, 1901, *Punch*, December 11th).

Mark Bryant highlights a violent aspect of cartoon protest from Germany. ‘Gustav Brandt (1861-1919) who had been the main illustrator of the Berlin weekly *Kladderadatsch* since 1884 produced “The Hero in South Africa” (1900) in which he depicted ‘John Bull’ trampling over bodies and destroying the South African countryside in order to drink from a barrel labelled “Gold Mines”. In “British Concentration Camps” (1901) for the Munich-based *Simplicissimus*, Bruno Paul (1874-1968) drew on the same theme — showing a gigantic Edward VII and a wounded British soldier stamping on tiny Boer prisoners. Thomas Heine (1867-1948), who became editor of *Simplicissimus* in 1906, also produced some striking images during the war, including “England’s Dream in South Africa” (1899), showing Queen Victoria “plucking ostriches, which was later reproduced as a postcard” (Bryant, 2008, pp. 60-61). Thus such exaggerations seem to have a national flavour but this fascinating aspect of cartooning must be left for a wider study.

Cartoon Construct, Context and Content

A short outline of the development of cartooning will set up the basis for further analysis on cartoon construction and context in Chapters Two and Four. The fact that each field of study cannot fully explain within its own epistemological conventions the political cartoon's unique position has resulted in it being accorded a fugitive status. The cartoon has often been used as a simple illustration of a single point in books and articles chiefly devoted to particular points of view in each academic field (Palmeri, 2009; Seymour-Ure, 2007; Press, 1981; Rosny, 1902). An appraisal of the use and description of cartoons is necessary in order to redress some historical views of such evidence, a subject covered in much more detail in the 'Role of Cartoons' chapter, but here a few perspectives are outlined.

Art historians for complex reasons have largely ignored political cartoons. They may be regarded as cheap and low forms of art and as such not recognised as fine art. If so, why are Francisco Goya's political cartoons studied as part of his oeuvre ranked as high art and those of professional cartoonists not accorded the same accolade? [See Appendix F, p.272] The magazine publishing scene in London was flourishing as demand increased, and accordingly, prices rose. David Kunzle (1985, 8 (1)) asserts that cartoons' popularity can be linked with an increasing readership. "Rising literacy and prosperity among sectors of the lower classes, together with an absolute and relative increase in the size of the lower middle class, having a corresponding, emergent ideology and self consciousness of its own, can be traced in the comic magazines of the later Victorian era" (Kunzle, 1985, p. 40).ⁱⁱ *Punch*, now a bastion of the upper-middle class, had detached itself from its radical beginnings.

Chris Jenks (1995) discusses the thorny problem of how images illumined text in the nineteenth century media:

“There is no doubt that during the nineteenth century the written word competed with a disadvantage against a wide range of forms of communication whose consumption was linked to seeing. The term illustration was used to speak of print media adorned with plates or engravings, as well as the act of projecting light and making visible and intelligible an idea through an image. These meanings were intertwined—the one linked to rationality, the other closer to making ideas visible, the first born of a Cartesian and abstract conception of reality, and the second tied to a visual tradition of knowledge - and they shared in the production of cultural forms. So, for example, the images appearing in print media “illustrated” the word and amplified its projection (in terms of both meaning and public).” (Jenks, 1995, p.36)

There was, nevertheless, a complex tension between word and image that revealed conflicts in the constitution of a ‘realm of letters’ and the differences between high and low cultures, especially in the representation of war. Historically, didactic images carried complex messages – just as learned men of the Church had used stained glass windows and preached the Word to its illiterate flock over centuries. However, in the nineteenth century a gradual sea change occurred in perception of public opinion about events as read in mass news circulation, especially about the Boer War. Likewise, this tension was made clear when it came to the reading public that, although more familiar with visual forms of cultural expression, was now faced with developing literary competency. These tensions led to the gentrification of certain fields of production, to the contrary of the general tendency throughout the century of preferring scopicⁱⁱⁱ modalities that undoubtedly prolonged a “phantasmagoria of equality” (Benjamin, 2008, pp.16-60). However, a further tension is apparent in that cartoons in the magazines never reached the mass audience at the time – as survivors of the earlier traditions they carried a simple opinionated viewpoint but now that their publics could read, the publishers still relied on the cartoon to convey its most effective hammer blow.

Perspectives on Reporting The Boer War

The Gramscian perspective of hegemony and counter-hegemony is being applied to the cartoons to highlight the two magazines' different political views as exaggerations of the truth. Hegemony is the systemic process by which a social group maintains economic and cultural dominance over the majority. Gramsci's work is used to describe terms of media theorists as an explanation of media practice and how magazines become organs of state support or counter-hegemonic protest. *Punch* politicised its cartoon subjects in order to assert an impression of Imperial strength. Sambourne utilised his drawings to convey a sense of Imperial power; Veber wished to undermine that stance as he, through his publication, was ostensibly free to make vicious comment. In contrast to Sambourne's chronological account of the war in *Punch*, Veber in *L'Assiette* focused on matters concerned with the concentration camps and certain personalities associated with the conduct of the Boer War. Drawn between April and 28th September 1901, he encapsulated in these twenty-one cartoons a radical vilification of British treatment of Boer women. In particular, he aimed criticism at Kitchener's perceived mishandling of camps and army sweeps across the Transvaal and Orange River Colony.

In the analysis of the cartoons' pictorial elements, a combination of theoretical and historical methods is being brought into play to assess the impact of images as carriers of editorial opinion. Gombrich's theoretical analysis (1956, pp.127-142), based on his six-point filter system of pictorial categories, involves a study of aspects of physiognomy that relates to Platonic philosophical tradition. Gombrich's filter system remains the standard for the cognitive analysis of political cartoons. Seemingly incongruous placement of figures in odd situations in cartoons also transmits messages to the audience. Gombrich's study of cartoons is heavily invested with Freudian psychological perspectives; his approach is appropriate in the appreciation of the representation of critical versions of the truth in cartoons. Gombrich's view

augments the perspectives offered when analysing cartoons in the context of the history of journalism. The above cited sources address visual, historical or journalistic analysis from different perspectives, each not wholly committed to understanding political cartoons as products of journalism history, but that are important to an understanding of cartoons in their context.

Media and The War

The journalism history section in Chapter One outlines the academic argument on the background history of newspapers and journals necessary for understanding the development of *Punch* and *L'Assiette* in context, but affects a deliberate emphasis on historiography as the lens through which accounts of the war are projected to the reader. Press history is broadly chronological in its explanations of nineteenth and twentieth Century newspaper development from educative early nineteenth century publications to the representative perspective of New Journalism and war propaganda.

Continuity and Change

The Marxist literary critic Walter Benjamin (1936, reprint 2008) writes of an 'aura' attached to singular works of art, a special kind of reaction that promotes a quasi-religious relationship to a certain piece. He argues that the aura disappears when a work is reproduced for the gaze and control of a mass audience freed from place and ritual in the late nineteenth century. "For the first time in world history, mechanical reproduction emancipates the work of art from its parasitical dependence on ritual" (Benjamin, 2008, p.24). Cartoons would ideally suit this freedom from such dependencies.

Recent scholars' work on the place of magazines and newspapers is focussed on changes associated with mass production rather than on continuities of form and tradition in the press. *Punch* and *L'Assiette* belong in the continuity category because they did not need to transform their craft-based format of drawing to transmit its powerful message to the reader.

Journalism history scholars document cartoons in various ways. Some books focus on monographic accounts of a publication, journalist or magnate (Veber & Lacroix; Price; Spielmann; Dixmier & Dixmier; Prager). Journal articles fail to deal with political cartoons as part of journalism history in any depth. There were a very few articles written in the 1960s and 1970s that built on an even scarcer earlier scholarship, but they attached cartoons to historical events or generic typology rather than journalism history, and almost never on the topic of the Boer War.

Social and cultural historians Briggs & Burke's *A Social History of the Media* (2002) is an encyclopaedic synthesis of a social history of the press in the West. They explore the relationships between communication media and other aspects of social and cultural life. Their aim is to place history into the media and then position media into historical studies by examining the notion that the masses became notified of issues and each other through the newspapers. Thus for Briggs & Burke, nineteenth century newspapers, "helped fashion national consciousness by making people aware of their fellow readers" (Briggs & Burke, 2002, p.1). They argue that history is important in appreciating journalistic values of, for instance, political cartoons as part of an extended and inherited visual tradition. While Briggs & Burke wish to make the media reader aware that communication studies is descended from older traditions, they also try to avoid linearity in order to avoid the danger of assigning an era as any better or worse than another.

In Chapter Four, however, in analysing political cartoons we must go further in examining finer points of Marxist views on the 'system'. This is a view that requires the scholar to focus not only on the gap between employers and employed in journalism but also to explore the gap between rulers and ruled as it is portrayed in political cartoons in 1901. Gramsci's theory of cultural hegemony demonstrates that minority political elite often exploits the majority (who voted/agreed that elite into a position of power), in order to maintain the *status quo*. This is true of journalistic institutions and a particularly interesting case is made of magazines that carry political cartoons. Images that convey the hegemonic power struggle have their opposite number also, in counter-hegemonic reactions to perceived cultural and social abuses committed by the elite. Jurgen Habermas in his *Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* (1989) expanded on this Marxist idea, analysing how it transformed notions of news in the workplace and discussed journalism as a profession - he "concluded that this world had become a 'systems world' with a new calendar" (Briggs & Burke, 2002, p.120; Habermas, 1989, pp. 181-235). So how does the political cartoon fit into this 'new calendar'?

Though the authors attempt to reposition media studies and point out distinctions and systems in Marxist and other analyses, Briggs & Burke only describe *Punch* in a glancing reference to its nature as "watcher, curator, protector, chastiser and lancet" of government policy (Briggs & Burke, 2002, p. 206, 222). Their only attempt at cartoon use on page 114 is to show one *Punch* image of John Tenniel's 'What Will He Grow Into?' - King Coal and King Steam watch over the Infant Electricity - as a general reference to the authors' chapter heading 'From Steam To Electricity' (*ibid.*, pp.106-120). They note continuity but they focus on change. There is no attempt to explain the proper context of the cartoon's possible relationship with progress as part of journalism. Neither is there ever any mention of how and why *Punch's* cartoons function as primary evidence in representing anything, let alone war.

Curran & Seaton's book *Power without Responsibility* (2003, first written in 1981) engages with theoretical perspectives applied to the history and politics of media as a social institution. They place great emphasis on censorship and political movements as being central to their argument about "press freedom". As defined by the liberals and conservatives who exercised power with or without accountability, liberation or control of the press, respectively by each political faction, emerged as a concept of great importance. They map out the battle between the two extremes as one "between the authoritarian right who want to deregulate the media but be subject to stronger legal constraint and the libertarian inclined to favour greater public service regulation of the media while seeking to minimise direct legal controls" (Curran & Seaton, 2003, p.412).

Thus Curran & Seaton see this dualism as an inadequate description of media politics and they posit that today's media now have "power with responsibility" (*ibid.*, p. 412). It is also possible to see how the fact that advertising keeps a publication functioning can be applied in a general sense to explain the survival of organs that carry cartoons (*ibid.*, pp. 49, 53). Do *Punch* and *L'Assiette* exercise 'power without responsibility' in the use and manipulation of war images as part of their drive to continue promoting their political views? It can be argued in the affirmative – the press freedoms alluded to by Curran & Seaton directly allowed publishers to buy into and/or dictate the nature of political cartoons. When the 1859 British press taxes were repealed by 1869, open competition all but killed the radical newspaper. "Underlying this shift was the growing power and confidence of the Victorian middle class which dominated the parliamentary campaign for repeal of press taxes and recognised in the expanding press a powerful agency for advancement of their interests" (*ibid.*, pp.21-22). These interests were wide-ranging and general and were reflected in the remaining national and regional newspapers' adverts and articles. The problem here is that this model does not fit the

political cartoon magazine's profile - *Punch* flourished despite such measures or controls because it was an establishment organ and not a radical paper:

“During the half-century following the ‘taxes on knowledge’, a number of radical newspapers closed down or were eventually incorporated...into the mainstream of popular liberal journalism. Militant journalism survived only in the etiolated form of small circulation national periodicals and struggling weeklies. Yet this decline occurred during a period of rapid press expansion.” (*ibid.*, p. 24)

Contrary to this trend, satirical magazines like *Punch* and *L'Assiette* had developed along slightly different lines than those of the straight newspapers, and *L'Assiette* remained resolutely defiant of the French Government [this is referred to in Chapters One, Six and Seven]. They adhered to their radical politics with a stance that kept the magazines on the stalls and in readers' homes – the cartoon provided an anchor against strong disapproving currents promoted by some of the nationalist press. Curran & Seaton's appraisal of 'Whig history' and its effects on press freedom does bear some weight in supporting the genesis of a notion of power without responsibility in journalism - but unfortunately perhaps if it is attached to the case of cartoons, their theories do not acknowledge or analyse the role these images perform as buckers of political or historical trends.

Yet this thesis seeks to examine how and why weekly political journals like *Punch* and *Assiette* survived and flourished, especially covering the Boer War with relatively tiny circulations, using a unique combination of artistic enhancement and opinionated reporting and commentary [see Chapters One, Two, Four, Five and Six]. Gorman & McLean never explain this phenomenon, because their interest lies in analysing the social context of mass media. There is an element in Gorman & McLean's book of Walter Benjamin's cultural theory (Benjamin, 2008: 19-55) that analyses how the age of mass media allows readers/audiences to engage with a work of art repeatedly, but in Gorman & McLean's work this is transferred to huge circulation and dissemination of news (Gorman & McLean, 2003, pp.209-229).

Comparative Styles

Out of these histories and political movements emerges a broad view of journalism history as affected by social and political forces and effecting change in styles of communication. It is necessary to explore the ideologies of comparative press histories to supply this thesis with the necessary overview for its own examination of British and French press reaction to the Boer War. Both Curran and Seaton, and Gorman and McLean do not discuss French press history at all; Conboy mentions it only in passing, as does Anderson; Briggs and Burke cover only a very general description of the French media.

Journalism historian Jane Chapman's *Comparative Media History* focuses on an ideological and economic review of the media's development from the modern era 1789 to the present day, focusing on continuities and change. In her thematic survey of world journalism history, she offers a comparative view of the key ideas that drive media growth and expansion in several different countries influenced by industrial, ideological and historical changes. The Boer War, she says, was the 'first media war' on account of technological advancements that allowed news to travel quickly from the front to a global readership. She writes that "the role of press coverage became so important,... not only because of more extensive coverage than any war previously, but also because the press helped to whip up pro-war feeling beforehand and was used for propaganda during the conflict" (Chapman, 2005, p.112). Indeed this technological advance allowed cartoonists to reflect opinions about the news within a day of its arrival and published as a cartoon in the very next edition of *Punch* or *L'Assiette*. In this context, Chapter Three explores how the effect of British and French Government foreign policy is reported in a news story and how it in turn 'travels' to the political cartoon. Crucially, Chapman includes a thorough appraisal of French press history in tandem with its counterparts

in Britain, Germany and the United States. She states that *fin-de-siècle* France experienced a Golden Age in their journalism due in no small measure to “increased literacy, technological inventions and the liberating effect of legalized press freedom” (*ibid.*, p.118).

News Conveying ‘a sense of place’

Terhi Rantanen explores a new idea of place that emerged among nineteenth century newspaper readership made possible by technological advances. She says: “...the first electronic news in the 19th century *increased* readers’ sense of place; it brought them simultaneous news from many places. Instead of losing their sense of place, readers became more aware of place, they acquired a *new* sense of place. They consumed the news at home, but it came from distant locations. Foreign news takes place elsewhere, and it only makes sense if its readers understand the difference between here and there. But it does not make sense if news does not offer a point of identification to readers. These points of identification made and make it possible for readers to be here-and-there at the same time and thus strengthen their sense of place. Beck (2000, p.72) uses the term *place polygamy*, when people have access to several places instead of one. He refers to people who actually travel, but we can extend his concept to news. The difference is, of course, that while people travel, the news audience stays at home. It is only news that travels” (Rantanen, 2003, p. 438).

In the case of reporting the Boer War, this ‘sense of place’ was attached to Nationalist, Imperialist and patriotic feeling on both sides of the fight. Kenneth O Morgan (2002, pp. 1-16) explored how London’s media were very quick to manipulate the readership to reflect the publications’ Imperialist views. Illustrations in publications like *The Illustrated London News* (ILN) largely mirror this view. Others examine the ideological myths of nations (Talmon, 1981). On the French side, Daniel Vierge’s graphic illustrations (Rosny, 1902) underline the anti-Imperialist sense of place. Political cartoons conveyed similar messages of support or

dissent but are critically more savage about ideas of place and ownership. Rosny's book about the Boer War (1902) falls into a traditional mould and in this case he attempts to create an illustrated history of reported contemporary events.

***Punch* and *L'Assiette* in Context**

The development of cartooning travels from the origins of caricaturing from around the sixteenth century (c 1655-1700s). The Carracci's cruel sketches with distortion of features were designed to ridicule, via noting the savage wit of individual cartoonists like Gillray, Cruickshank and Hogarth, and to track the emergence of the political cartoon as conveyor of editorial slant in journalistic publications. The mid to late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries saw a change from Hogarthian socio-political jibes printed as sole sheets to the inclusion of deeply politicised images within a newspaper or magazine. Gone were the independent biting satires of Cruickshank and Gillray. British magazines and newspapers began to use these images to sell their publications. By 1900 in Britain, *Punch* competed against 2,327 other magazines, many of which sported editorial cartoons. The intense rivalry for financial success was fraught with tensions between keeping their specialised readerships happy, and the magazines' attempts in trying to stay afloat (Wolff & Fox, in Dyos 1973: 575). *Punch's* success at the time was due in large part to the coverage of the war, their circulation increased from 45,000 to 60,000 a week around the time of the Siege of Mafeking (BL, PUN/A BRAD/BB/02, p.229).^{iv} In the light of such a rise, it is not surprising that the board pressed Sambourne to produce forty per cent of 1901's output on the subject of the Boer War. Likewise, war stories and opinions about it provoked similar rises in mass circulation of newspapers like *The Daily Mail's* sales of over one million copies in a week. (Makenzie, 1921, pp. 25-30; Morgan, 2002, p.2) However, magazines like *Punch* or *L'Assiette* simply could not

compete with mass production as they appealed to select areas of society and so continued the conversation piece tradition of editorial cartooning.

In France, Charles Philipon set up satirical magazines *Le Caricature* and *Le Charivari* in the 1830s and developed France's own cultural style of cartoon, springing from the then fading British tradition of Gillray and Hogarth's acerbic comment. Philipon and the paper were constantly fined by the Monarchist Government. After such an event, the paper's artists reverted to innocuous social commentaries, returning to fierce anti-monarchist politics when sufficiently roused. Some cartoonists were thrown into jail. Philipon himself was jailed for five months in 1832. Honoré Daumier, perhaps France's most famous satirical cartoonist, used a free-flowing grease pencil and lithography to show his streak of free comment and individual artistry, while their British counterparts were still engaged in time-consuming engraving of tightly constructed line drawings. In the 1870s, a second generation of satirical cartoonists emerged in The Third Republic, including André Gill and Cham. A decade afterwards Steinlen, Caran D'Ache, Willette, Veber and Forain focussed on social aspects; in Veber's case the horrors of war. "This art was built on shaky foundations. In 1897 the social instability that had found root in the Paris Commune of 1871 and its harsh repressions once more came to a boil with the Dreyfus case. The split was one between humanist secularists, and those loyal to the traditional values of the Church and State" (Press, 1981, p. 364). Cartoonists were no exception to the rule as they chose sides. Press adds: "In political cartoons it meant that the most effective cartoon statements were frequently from extreme positions...or were frilly, humorous, but politically irrelevant comment" (*ibid.*, p.364). The polarity in the press suggests that French cartoonists were fated to represent their opinions as reflecting an irreconcilably divided state. This perhaps explains the background to Veber's political and artistic extremism in his Boer War edition of September 1901. A paradox arises in cartoons as "a likeness more true than mere imitation can be" and "truer than reality itself" (Gombrich & Kris, 1938, p. 321).

By 1900, *Punch* was closely allied to *The Times* in its pro-war stance including *The Daily Mail*^v and *The Daily News*' more liberal approach. *Punch*, or *The London Charivari*, named after its French counterpart Philipon's *Charivari*, was set up in 1841 as a peculiarly British satirical illustrated weekly magazine, and contained articles and full-page editorial cartoons, known as the 'big cut', which covered political and social topics. *Punch* charged 3d for each weekly issue from 1841 until 1917.^{vi} The quality of *Punch*'s writing and cartoons appealed to the emergent middle classes who sought advancement in societal and political terms. The magazine's tone remained irreverent and often delivered an admonishing comment, however they were executed in a fairly respectful manner. Thus, by 1901, the magazine was almost totally conservative in tone, its less conservative comment sometimes emerging from its weekly 'big cut' political cartoon.

Linley Sambourne and Jean Veber

These two self portraits reveal how each artist thought of himself, how he wished to be projected in society, and in the manner of their adopted artistic oeuvre. Sambourne [Plate 2] exudes comfortable respectability, pen at rest in his left hand, in a beautifully executed line drawing. Veber's strongly dashed sketch gives no such impression; his intense stare drills out of the page, pen poised in febrile fingers: an emphatically challenging image [Plate 3].

For over 40 years, Linley Sambourne (1844-1910) had at least one cartoon a week published in *Punch*'s pages and he became 'First Cartoon' in 1901, succeeding Sir John Tenniel. Sambourne's work was much admired by his colleagues; his style of drawings was formal, executed in black and white and often with intricate detail. He used a vast store of photographs to aid his designs, and invested the cartoons with an immense knowledge of classical symbolism to create images which poked genteel ridicule at *Punch*'s targets, only

occasionally attracting censure in his earlier years (Ormond, 2010, p.149). His chronologically arranged Boer War cartoons reflected the conservative editorial slant of the magazine.

Jean Veber (1864 – 1928) was a fully trained artist who had worked on *Gil Blas* as a caricaturist to earn a living. His brother Pierre Veber invited him to contribute to *Gil Blas*, where Jean courted controversy with his famous 1897 cartoon of Otto von Bismarck as a butcher of the German people. He joined *L'Assiette* on its inception in 1901, drawing the equally controversial 'Les Camps de Reconcentration au Transvaal' series. One image in this series of 'L'Impudique Albion' was censored by a very nervous French administration; this was a caricature of Britannia with her bare backside sporting a likeness of King Edward VII's face.

Both *Punch* and *L'Assiette* adopted an artisanal approach to their cartoons, a heavy emphasis was placed on the quality of the prints: the former organ required the artist to draw his design on paper which was then transferred to woodblock by an engraver thus resulting in a quite formal black and white image. The latter used colour and monochrome lithographs, the designs for which were freely executed onto the stone with a grease pencil; the stone was rinsed but the ink adhered to the oily marks, thus the image was transferred to the paper. The artisanal approach adopted by the two publications appealed to the connoisseur collector, the images themselves being works of art in their own right. *L'Assiette's* supplement advertised high-quality individual editions by each artist connected with the magazine. A fine copy of Jean Veber's 'Les Camps du Transvaal' issue was available at 1.20 Francs in 1901 and 1902. Most of the other artists' editions were sold for considerably less, rarely exceeding circa eighty centimes.^{vii}

Punch - A Conservative Publication For the Upwardly Mobile Middle Class

The nineteenth century English periodical press was also rich in comic journals: *Fun*, *Judy*, *Funny Folks*, *Tomahawk*, and *Hornet* amongst many others. The most famous comic weekly of all was *Punch*, which commenced publication in July 1841 with a series of cartoons lampooning parliament. Under Mark Lemon (editor from 1841-1871), it swiftly earned a reputation for stinging, radical, iconoclastic satire and, priced at 3d, *Punch's* sales increased from an early circulation figure of 6,000 to 40,000 copies a week in 1860. By way of comparison, *The Times* printed 63,000 issues each day (Ellegard, 1984, p.20). *Punch* was superior in almost all departments to its many competitors and close imitators. *Fun* so closely mimicked *Punch* that William Makepeace Thackeray, a regular *Punch* contributor, labelled it *Funch*. However, it was the sheer quality of *Punch's* cartoon draughtsmanship, and their artists' ability to seize upon current events for their images, that set the journal apart. Among its many famous cartoonists were Richard Doyle, John Leech, Edward Linley Sambourne, Charles Keene, George du Maurier, Harry Furniss, Leonard Raven-Hill, Phil May and, pre-eminently, Sir John Tenniel, the famous illustrator of the *Alice in Wonderland* books.

Sambourne and Punch

Sambourne began his association with *Punch* in 1867. He was an apprentice engineer's draughtsman and one of his sketches impressed his employer, whose friend Mark Lemon (the then editor of *Punch*) invited Sambourne to submit a drawing for the society page (Nicholson, 1988). Over the next ten years Sambourne's light and free style became more formalised and his trademark close use of the line became established. He worked for *Punch* until his death in 1910. He also designed front pages for *The Pall Mall Gazette*, *The Sphere*, *The Sketch*, and *The Naval and Military Gazette* as well as supplying drawings for, among others, *The Pictorial World*, *The Illustrated London News* and *The Piccadilly Magazine*.

In the society pages, his commissions became increasingly invested with a grotesque bent; his portraits and skits of young women in dresses fashioned like a prawn or wasp indicated the cartoonist's, and the magazine's, derogatory opinion about ladies' fashion. From the 1880s to the 1890s Sambourne's remit increased to include the fancy portrait, *Punch's* version of caricatures of famous persons. He also drew fancy portraits of well-known artists. Juliet McMaster (2005) in a plenary paper focuses on a case study of Sambourne's connection and portrayals of the art world in *Punch*, particularly of Royal Academicians. She examines "his work in relation to *Punch's* influence on public perception of the Royal Academy, as well as the artists themselves. Sambourne's caricatures familiarised and humanised these celebrated figures; the reviews parodying the highly academic historical paintings has much to do with the move in subject matter toward contemporary subjects and local landscapes. Through its considerable circulation *Punch* helped to make The Academy and its members famous; but at the same time by its satire and deflationary tactics it also succeeded, at least intermittently, in 'toppling the prestigious institution from its high horse'" (McMaster, 2005, p. 1).

Sambourne often worked from photographs, taking a great deal of trouble to secure the latest *carte-de-visite* and gleaning photographs from the newspapers (Suleman, in Simon 2001, p. 28). Each figure is clearly identifiable with the traditional enlarged head and set within an incongruous scene to highlight a point, lending a mocking spirit to the composition. During that time he contributed to Tenniel's famous 1890 'Dropping the Pilot' cartoon stating Tenniel did not have the idea for it but that Gil A Beckett had suggested it, and Sambourne had proposed the use of a companion ladder. His diary entry of this incident is as follows:

"Stafford Terrace. (Red ink: Prince Bismarck resigned.) Cut of Bismarck leaving ship suggested by Gil A Beckett. Great success. I suggested the companion ladder treatment." (Sambourne, 1890, March 19)

Sambourne rose to the position of 'First Cartoon' in 1901, after twenty years waiting for Tenniel to retire. Sambourne received his orders from editors Francis C Burnand and Owen

Seaman. Each week on a Wednesday the ‘Punch Dinner’ convened and after a large meal the board turned to business, presumably finding post-prandial considerations most convivial and constructive for ideas. The editorial board would decide on the ‘big cut’ topic and the literature team wrote the captions.

Sambourne was commissioned to make a few full-cuts for the main political cartoon published each week. His transition was not a comfortable one, either politically or artistically. The magazine’s political leaning was of an easy mocking conservative tone; Sambourne, as a liberal unionist type of conservative, found that his politics sometimes ran against the grain of Mr. Punch’s gibes. Sometimes, if the artist was absent or the subject matter suddenly changed, a slip of paper was sent to him, or the editor would drop in on him at home in Kensington. The freedom he enjoyed in creating the fancy portrait or political cartoon was combined with the onerous task of executing identifiable figures in a complex setting, added lateral gags and literal legend beneath; all to be executed to a very high specification in only two days. Sambourne did at times become exasperated with Burnand’s constant visits or notes to make alterations.

L’Assiette au Beurre – A Radical Publication

The inheritor of Philipon and Daumier’s satirical tradition, *L’Assiette au Beurre*, also an illustrated weekly magazine, was launched in April 1901 by the bookseller and magazine publisher Samuel Sigismond Schwarz and ran over 593 issues until 1912 in Paris. Each edition was sold on the street for 60 centimes – a relatively high price for a weekly paper. Other tariffs were charged for subscription readers who ordered quarterly or annual editions. French satirical magazines have a rich history and were aimed at disparate audiences often targeting whole layers of society to ridicule. *L’Assiette’s* readership was a middle class radical group disaffected with aristocratic, legal and clerical abuses; they identified with the magazine’s

attacks on the nobility, the Government and the Church who they claimed had creamed off the fat of the land. *L'Assiette* differed from its competitors such as *Gil Blas* and *Le Frou Frou* in that it adopted a unique strategy in asking its artists to suggest topics for each week's edition.

A variety of viewpoints converged, combined with the proprietor's determined socialism, to produce a heady mix of anti-establishment feeling in the magazine's entirely pictorial content. Thus *L'Assiette* was considered the most famous satirical magazine of La Belle Époque. The magazine's title was a euphemism for the 'gravy train' or 'snouts in the trough'; the corrupt state as critiqued on page one of the illustrated manifesto published on 4th April 1901 (Plates 4 and 5). The manifesto set out the context of the supposed origins of the magazine as a supporter of Republican humble beginnings and modest living. It was opposed to the asserted self-indulgent Imperialism of the landowning aristocracy, the butts of Veber's tirade against such abuses. A popular target was any foreign Imperialist nation, in particular France's old enemy England and King Edward VII:

"L'Assiette au Beurre: évocatrice de places imméritées et d'argent facilement gagné en un temps favorable à tous les accommodements, cette locution désigne aussi le journal satirique le plus célèbre de la Belle Époque". (Dixmier & Dixmier, 1974, p.9)

The topics were selected, unusually, by the artist and executed as full-page lithographs often in colour; there was no editorial text. Typically, each week's topic was represented as a series of eighteen to twenty cartoons lampooning those in society it saw as corrupt: The Government, the Church, militarism outside France, effects of war, foreign policy, capitalism and other perceived crimes committed by the Establishment. Plate 5 shows an instance of *caveat emptor* where those who invest in South African land are warned against Boer resistance.

"L'assiette au beurre pour tous! Voilà bien une géniale, une généreuse idée et l'insigne du Mérite agricole ne serait pas déplacé sur votre vaste poitrine!" ^{viii} (*L'Assiette au Beurre*,

Manifesto, 1901, p.1 – Plates 4 and 5). *Le Mérite Agricole* was an award for services to agriculture. Antoine Willette and Veber referred to this award in the opening salutation to *L'Assiette*'s director Schwarz. The manifesto set out the context of the supposed origins of the magazine as a supporter of Republican humble beginnings and modest living, and was opposed to the asserted self-indulgent Imperialism of the landowning aristocracy. In particular, Edward VII and 'Les Englishs' are the butts of Veber's tirade against such abuses of power.

Veber elected to cover the Boer War in the September 28th 1901 edition. Edition 26, 'Les Camps de Reconcentration au Transvaal' contained a radical and angry vilification of British treatment of Boers combined with an ancient underlying resentment of 'Les Englishs'. He and Willette, another cartoonist, wrote in the manifesto:

"Ils ont eue aussi, les Englishs. *L'assiette au beurre* après l'avoir chipée au Grand Napoléon, mais ils viennent de perdre l'assiette et le beurre, entre leurs doigts crochus, s'est fondu au feu des braves Boers." (Manifesto to *L'Assiette au Beurre*, 1901, p.1)

Both magazines produced special print editions of their cartoons, a yearly 'Almanack' and specially made covers for the year's collection of magazines.^{ix} *L'Assiette* even went so far as to produce a ten-year edition cover bound in white fabric resembling sheepskin with an embossed 'Marianne' on the front.^x

'Marianne' is traditionally perhaps the most democratic figure in the French pantheon of national symbols and allegorical personifications. She stands as the champion of the people. *L'Assiette* seeks to differ here as seen in Plate 6. This double-page full-colour cartoon shows a pictorial metaphor of a masculine 'Marianne' teetering on a vast mountain of butter that acts as Veber's symbol of the French Republic as gross and unconcerned about the little figures bending under the great weight of the plate. 'Marianne' represents Veber and *L'Assiette*'s vision of Government run to fat and corruption, oppressing the people [Plate 6].

Elisabeth & Michel Dixmier (1974, p.9) confirm the viciousness of *L'Assiette* as a comment on politics and society and as the most savage publication of the Age. Despite historical precedents with freedom of the French press, post 1881, certain laws (*lois scélérates*) curtailed free speech and encouraging propaganda of the deed, or antimilitarism specifically in French newspapers.^{xi} This perhaps explains *L'Assiette's* trenchant position as an organ of protest as it attempted to protest against perceived abuses and the curbing of press freedoms by a dishonest Government. *L'Assiette* emerged to adopt an audience slant that proposed a radical stance: that those bourgeois readers take pride in their humble beginnings, their lineage and their right to protest at corruption.

However, *L'Assiette* was never a totally militant magazine. It tended to follow the current of critical thought on the ills of society. The magazine adopted an unusual strategy in the use of full-page cartoons with which to attack the Establishment. Each week an artist chose his subject and drew approximately 20 cartoons on that topic. As a rule, captions were a secondary concern but sometimes it was used to cynical and satirical effect. In tone, the magazine was more subversive than destructive. At moments of tension with other countries, in particular with Germany and Britain, *L'Assiette* adopted a very strident oppositional voice through its cartoons.

On 4th April 1901, *L'Assiette au Beurre* burst onto the scene, promoted by the Jewish Hungarian publisher Schwarz, now naturalised in France. This was an innovative, completely different review from the others already in circulation, and from an artistic perspective was aimed at connoisseurs. *L'Assiette* appeared under the Waldeck-Rousseau Government, part of the Radical Republic (1899-1904), and predicted misfortune for self-indulgent authority figures. It was a relatively stable and prosperous time for French society, even if the lower classes received only morsels of the accumulated benefits from the wealthier classes. The authorities had in fact a need to balance the Socialist Left against the Clerical Right. They felt

it necessary to trade off the Army against the *Générale Confédération du Travail*^{xii}, and also were especially sensitive after the humiliation of the militaristic Right Wing in the shadow of the Dreyfus Affair.^{xiii} Against this background, *L'Assiette*'s cartoonists pounced with ferocious and cutting satire, on what they saw as a greedy power-hungry Bourgeois society.

From an artistic point of view, the differences that set this publication apart emerge from researching the relationship between graphic and textual content. In the same period other satirical reviews such as *Le Rire*, *Gil Blas*, *Le Sourire* and *Fantasio* took advantage of artists like Toulouse-Lautrec, in that the illustration was subordinate to the text. In *L'Assiette* this relationship was inverted; the illustration expands to occupy the entire page, and text is reduced to a simple and incisive comment. The centrality conferred to *L'Assiette*'s cartoon is further enhanced from bold use of colour, used in nearly all the periodical's pages rather than only for the cover page or centre pages, as commonly used by other reviews of that period.

L'Assiette au Beurre represents the best review of Belle Époque artists in which great and lesser artists are represented. Delannoy, Flores, Grandjouan, Kupka, Jossot, Steinlen, and Vallotton *inter alia* created accurate caricature and cutting edge designs, describing and criticising various aspects of La Belle Époque. A single artist, on various topics, illustrated the majority of over five hundred issues published thus every number of the review could be considered as an artist's monograph. Most of the artists who collaborated on the review belonged to Bohemian Montmartre, the natural neighbourhood of anarchists, part of a thriving community of local talent and émigrés (Hewitt, 2002, pp. 28-38; Winock, 2002; Cornick, 2000).

The Editor and artists of the review, from the magazine's beginning, without a doubt had an axe to grind; they criticised the privileged classes, Capitalists who wanted to become wealthy, the authorities, the very rich, soldiers, the Church and policemen. The pages of the

review did not illustrate only political issues and world events. Social phenomena supplied subject matter for various numbers, illustrating topics such as capital punishment, the draft of children, juvenile crime, prostitution, violence, and mocking of homosexuals. Foreign politics was a strong topic in that first year, featuring Jean Veber's critique against cruelties due to the protracted Boer War. Whilst *L'Assiette* was pacifist for the majority of its existence, its designers nevertheless shared the prejudicial currents of French public opinion against their old enemy, England.

L'Assiette, Its Readers, and Sensationalism

L'Assiette was thus seemingly opposed to the efforts of sensationalism in the mass press. Sensationalism was considered a trivial and prurient pastime fit only for the tabloids and *L'Assiette* was aimed at its radical intellectual readership. Though the magazine's cartoons used what seem to be crude tools to get their point across, in fact the complex construction was expected to be appreciated by its upmarket reader. While it is possible that *L'Assiette's* owner and subscribers preferred cultured appreciation of artfully produced commentary, a discussion on a scandalous censorship case, later on in the thesis, may give the lie to *L'Assiette's* claims of appreciating only high culture.

Gregory Shaya (2004) offers an insight into the context of *L'Assiette* supposedly in competition with the mass papers and reception by readers: "There were other readings of the audience of the mass press, and we must take these into account to fathom the meanings of the community of newsreaders. Consider, for example, the satiric illustrated weekly, *L'Assiette au Beurre*. It portrayed the mass press and the reporting of crime as a frightful distraction" (Shaya 2004, pp.47-8) [Plate 7]. However Shaya perhaps does not go far enough to suggest from what indeed the crowd might be distracted. It must be stressed that *L'Assiette* was not an example of mass publication but a criticism of it, so perhaps the comparison is at first misleading.

Christian Delporte argues that cartoons such as those carried by *L'Assiette* were thought too rude to be included in regular newspapers like *Le Petit Journal*, *Le Petit Parisien* and *Le Monde*, *inter alia*, who were mindful of their respectability. Political cartoons had their own special type of publication:

“Mais les caricatures, politiques ou des mœurs, s'échappent encore rarement des feuilles satiriques ou humoristiques spécialisées (*Le Charivari*, *Le Rire*, *Le Sourire*, *L'Assiette au Beurre*) pour pénétrer dans les quotidiens d'information. Le caractère violemment polémique des caricatures sied mal à une presse soucieuse de plaire à un large public (*sic*); toutefois, au-delà des excès qui manifestèrent alors dans les compositions graphiques, l'affaire Dreyfus a montré l'attraction exercée par ce mode de communications.” (Delporte 1998, p.108)

Thus, he points out an important difference between French and British attitudes to the news, and by implication, variant approaches about the Boer War projected to readers by *Punch* and *L'Assiette*. Veber's vicious comments on the war are attached to a sharp enhancement of reported 'fact' intended to inflame negative opinion about The British in South Africa. Sambourne's careful compositions embellish 'realities' in an entirely different manner; it was a method designed to promote a sense of authenticity and reassure his readers' confidence in their hegemonic system.

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CHAPTER TWO - The Role of Cartoons

‘Ridicule, the only weapon the English climate cannot rust.’ (Lord Byron, 1820)

A cartoon is a pictorial sketch or caricature, by implication humorous or satirical, and since the nineteenth century usually published in a newspaper, magazine, or periodical. The term ‘cartoon’ is a modern concept and before the eighteenth century satirical and humorous drawings of all kinds were known as caricatures - images that distorted the subject’s face for comic effect. Originally a cartoon represented the under-drawing stage of a painting’s design. Latterly the word ‘cartoon’ is used to denote three distinct types of drawing: **the political, or editorial, cartoon**—the main daily or weekly pictorial comment in a newspaper or magazine, referring to a current political issue; **the gag cartoon** - a single column drawing on a topical subject, usually found on the publication’s front page; and **the strip cartoon**, a sequence of images typically presenting a fictitious character’s trials of life. This Chapter focuses on the political cartoon as a reflection and editorial comment on current issues arising, and analyses the dichotomy, qualitatively, between graphic humour which has always been closely connected with individual bias, comment, metaphor and prejudice, as opposed to the written word of the journalist, cluttered “by the dangling syntax of qualification”, and by implication the newspaper illustration (Seymour-Ure, 1977, p.10).

This Chapter analyses political cartoons, a form of satirical journalism and a kind of visual opinion news discourse, and theorizes on the role of cartoons in the assemblage of opinions about the Boer War. Political cartoons offer readers condensed claims or mini-narratives about alleged ‘problem’ conditions; they reference, and emphasize, assumed connotations of the war’s events. Political cartoons, as carriers of accentuated meaning, provide a meta-language for discourse about events by constructing idealizations of the Boer

War, positioning readers within a discursive context of ‘meaning making’ and offering readers a tool for deliberating on these versions of events. Cartoons ‘frame’ phenomena by situating the ‘problem’ in question within the context of the war and, in this way, exploit ‘universal values’ as a means of persuading readers to identify with an image and its intended message. They also make certain claims about historical ‘facts’, and in this Chapter, an examination of ‘truth enhancements’ in Boer war cartoons will determine their distinction from mere illustrations that are intended only to relate fact.

There are two main problems when analysing cartoons and illustrations’ meaning and use in journalistic publications. Firstly, though illustrations such as those in *The Illustrated London News (ILN)* depict what is happening at a given time, their narrative style is naïve in execution. In most images, only one layer of meaning exists; the topic that is being covered assumes a general readership interest. In France at the turn of the century there were circa two hundred and fifty weekly or monthly illustrated newspapers:

“Le journal illustré s’adresse en même temps aux femmes, aux enfants, à la famille entière.: (Dubief, 1892, p. 222)

Other images are simply commemorative of an event that occasionally indicates a deeper level of understanding about a particular culture, for example, the French fascination with their exotic colonies in *L’Illustration’s* 1901’s *Revue at Bétheny* (I shall outline more of this later). Often illustrations are accompanied by long descriptions of the person or event, a feature that never appears in the context of cartoons. Though a Gramscian perspective might offer an insight into hegemonic power structures in French society and her sense of place in the world, in such illustrations it is not possible to employ Gombrich’s pictorial analysis effectively to emphasise a satirical point of view, because the sole intention of the illustration is to state the news.

Secondly, in some journals and books, cartoons are generally reduced to special editions within journalism and visual studies, and used as the occasional ‘filler’ in other areas. This use presents a problem of specific contextual loss when such an image is employed as a type of informed decoration. The author is not concerned with cartoon construct and thus its power is misappropriated. However, there is a broadening of acceptance of visual material for use by many types of historians. Cartoon historians tend to focus on surveys or necessarily limited studies. Art historians examine the craft of cartoons and analyse intellectual theories and methodologies that underpin certain intellectual oeuvres. For example, Ernst Gombrich, in ‘The Cartoonist’s Armoury’, developed and refined his system of six distinct filters by which a cartoon is categorised and cross-referenced as an effective carrier of critical journalistic opinion (Gombrich 1956). Therefore, an appreciation of the context of art historical, journalism history and theory, and Boer War history is essential for the understanding of political cartoons and their place in communication studies.

While some scholars such as Press (1981) and Josh Greenberg (2008, pp.181-198) discuss cartoons they have not analysed their content as satirical and historical constructs in real depth, especially regarding events covered in journalistic publications. The result is that images tend to be treated as illustrations that serve their texts; this perspective is limiting and does not lead to a satisfactory understanding about the ways in which cartoons operate. Other scholars like Seymour-Ure (1977, 1996, 1997, 2001, 2003 and 2007) never intended to cover such depths in his many articles about the role of cartoons. However, his contribution is sustained and welcome. He analyses cartoons as part of mass publication post 1950, rather than focusing on traditional survivals of older styles; thus his work embraces a different cultural perspective.

Furthermore it is important to convey how the image *persuades* a reader to adopt or maintain a certain attitude that is allied to a particular point of view at certain times, for

example *Punch* and *L'Assiette au Beurre*'s respective stances on the Boer War. The bulk of modern scholarship containing cartoons tends to be framed in a contemporary journalistic mass media context. It is important to understand *Punch* and *L'Assiette*'s political cartoons, in their comparatively small print runs, as powerful visual documents that convey knowledge about the Boer War. In order to comprehend the difference between illustrations and cartoons, it is necessary to see how the latter is constructed to function as an effective carrier of opinion:

“The art of the cartoonist is central to an understanding of the political life of the nation. The British tradition is particularly rich, with a lineage spanning the tumultuous events of the last three hundred years [the French tradition is equally well represented]. The immediacy of events, personalities and causes visualised within the frame of the cartoon privilege it as the most effective form of political discourse.”

(Pople, 2001, p.36)

Visual culture theorist and linguist Elisabeth El Rafie explores an understanding of newspaper cartoons as a problematic relationship between ‘verbal and visual metaphors’, and attempts to describe them as products of linguistic culture (El Rafie, 2003, p.76). There is a problem with defining liminal space in this fashion: over-definition is as troublesome as under-definition in cartooning, as a message in this form is by nature shifting and ambiguous. In order to get the ‘joke’, an appreciation of space is essential. Context is also generally insufficiently accounted for. The methodological system demonstrates cartoons, (in this case *Punch* and *L'Assiette au Beurre*'s) which effect a shift in reading the content. The shift is documented in a move from understanding a code of symbols towards a stanced intentional opinion as the organs adopt a journalistic slant. Whereas *Punch*'s cartoons are set within a text layout – *L'Assiette*'s cartoons are the ‘text’; both transmit messages and opinion on the Boer War as news and opinion pieces. As a written piece in the editorial section of a paper reflects the organ's political leaning, so does a cartoon, today often placed above such editorials. Mark Boukes *et al* state that “political satire positively affects the attitude toward the satirized subject via perceived funniness” (Boukes, *et al.*, 2015, p.721). This paper is a study on the

effects of satire on viewers watching television and vice versa. It can be argued that it is not just humorous indicators that prescribe the subject matter, but also serious points are carried across to the reader in a kind of meta-language that involves an integrated understanding of an image as a unified message of funny tropes and character reading.

The 'Language' of Character

The French depiction of the British Character is described as phlegmatic; The Englishman is possessed of *le flegme britannique*, *flegme* being a synonym for *non-émotif*, *froidueur impassibilité* and *placidité*. These terms explain clearly French attitudes toward the British, and signs of such an understanding abound in Jean Veber's cartoons of the British at war. In 'Le Deep Level', the cold and calculating 'honourable' Joseph Chamberlain, appointed Secretary of State for the Colonies in 1895, mines his way through a field of the dead, his attire impeccable and monocle firmly in place [Plate 8]. This reference to the beginnings of the Boer War, regarding Chamberlain's collusion with Cecil Rhodes and Uitlander mine-owners over gold prices and taxes in 1892-5, demonstrates that, because of Veber's knowledge of the war's origins, as well as his reaction to its subsequent crises in 1901, Issue 26 is not a mere knee-jerk response, but a considered essay in perceived layers of deceit conducted by the British over the Boers (Fage & Roland, 1985, p.475).

The image is a reflective comment on the cost of Deep Level Mining in the Witwatersrand under the imperialist Joseph Chamberlain who was appointed to the Colonial Office in 1895.^{xiv}

"The rejection of Mr. Chamberlain's repeated efforts to come to a friendly arrangement with Germany convinced him by the autumn of 1901 that Germany and her Government were definitely hostile to Great Britain. An attack by the German Press, seconded as a political piece of tactics by the Liberal Opposition in England, on the 'methods of barbarity' attributed to the British command in South Africa aroused Mr.

Chamberlain's resentment. On October 15th, 1901, he replied at Edinburgh to these attacks with references to the methods employed by the German Army in the Franco-Prussian War. This speech gave rise to further attacks on England in the German Press.” (Lee, 1927, p.135)

Development of Cartoons

Cartoons have developed over hundreds of years as constructs that criticise powerful political figures. One of the earliest political cartoons is the anonymous *Le Revers du Jeu des Suysses* (The Other Side of the Swiss Game – Plate 9), a woodcut produced circa 1513-1515. A myopic Pope Leo X, the Holy Roman Emperor, Louis XII, Maximilian I and other European monarchs play cards while, under the table, a Swiss soldier stacks the decks in his favour in a satirical commentary on French ambitions in Italy (France relied upon the support of elite Swiss soldiers).^{xv} This image has a satirical message that no simple commemorative illustration of the same figures can ever convey – that powerful men need to cheat to survive.

Its anonymous creator also plays a very dangerous game criticising the Holy See and crowned heads of Europe. The Church's Protestant enemies did not escape the attentions of caricaturists. A small memorable caricature of this period is an anti-Protestant woodcut by Erhard Schoen of 1521. Presumably, the lack of the artist's anonymity may stand for official approval. This image shows the Devil playing a pair of bagpipes with a monk's head (possibly Martin Luther) as the bellows [Plate 10].

In England, William Hogarth (1697- 1764) excelled in satirical criticism and, in the 1730s, started painting his sequences of 'modern moral subjects'. He also mass-produced his own work, as wood engravings, for sale to the public. His satires on the follies and vices of his age, *A Harlot's Progress* and *The Rake's Progress*, were a huge success and attracted interest among his bourgeois readership.

In *The Election*, Hogarth painted four pictures that provided comment on the 1754 Oxfordshire Parliamentary Election. Read as an ensemble, the quartet shows an unfolding sequence of events during Election Day. All of the paintings provide details of various types of corruption that took place in eighteenth century elections. In the final painting *Chairing the Member*¹, the winning Tory candidate's supporters who celebrate his victory almost tip him into the mud [Plate 11]. Exaggeration of the Member's precarious position over the filthy stream highlights for Hogarth the dangers of elitist hubris. Hogarth engraved copies and sold thousands of prints to eager collectors. Applying Gramsci's hegemonic perspective throws the image into an even more complex exploration of how such power systems may succeed or fail. Hogarth's rival James Gillray's (1756–1815) vituperative assaults on William Pitt, George III and George IV, the French Revolution, and Napoléon bore a fierce savagery and passion in the political cartoon.

In a parody of Henry Fuseli's Macbeth painting *Wierd (sic) Sisters* [Plate 12], this image centres on concerns about George III's continuing health problems. However, Gillray's witches are Henry Dundas, Secretary of State for Home Affairs; William Pitt, First Lord of the Treasury; and the Lord Chancellor, Edward Thurlow, who gaze at the smiling profile of Queen Charlotte (as Lady Macbeth) on the illuminated side of the moon. The profile of the sleeping King remains in darkness.

Daumier's caricature against a Rabelaisian King Louis-Philippe shows the Monarch consuming considerable finance in '*Gargantua*' [Plate 13]. The King, known for his avarice, fought fiercely to remain on the civil list. He even tried to obtain financial support for his large family. The cartoon is a denunciation also of electoral corruption practised by the July Monarchy: under the 'throne', deputies gather his bills (regarded as excrements of the King)

¹ The other paintings are *Election Entertainment*, *Canvassing for Votes* and *The Polling*

and these are passed to the Government. Daumier was imprisoned for 6 months in 1832, and *Le Caricature* was closed down.

His editor Charles Philipon set up another publication *Le Charivari* in 1832, the model for London's 'Charivari', better known as *Punch*.

British and French illustrations about the Boer War demonstrate a fixation with celebrating the exotic and the spectacular as opposed to overt criticism as offered by political cartoonists of policies and events. A publication's politics are reflected in the telescoping of exaggerated opinions, an effective way to transmit an authoritatively saturated message to a readership. Thus political cartooning, originating in the Carracci's seventeenth century caricatures and matured by the savage wit of individual cartoonists such as Gillray, Cruikshank and Hogarth, emerged as a conveyor of editorial opinion outside journalistic publications. However, by the late eighteenth century, socio-political jibes printed as sole sheets became integrated into whole publications. The mechanism by which the papers worked and sold copy was embedded in the commercialism of outrage. By 1900, Britain's conservative *Punch* (through Linley Sambourne's Boer War images) competed against over 2000 magazines sporting editorial cartoons to sell their publications. Overseas, Charles Philipon, Honoré Daumier, Guillaume-Sulpice Chevalier and Jean Grand Carteret *inter alia* championed the cartoon as a powerful conveyor of opinion to their public. Daumier concurrently suffered under a Monarchist Government that fined or jailed those who drew or published counter-hegemonic satire. In response to this, towards the nineteenth century's close, a second generation of satirical cartoonists had emerged in the Third Republic. Amongst these was the radical *L'Assiette au Beurre's* Jean Veber, who by 1901 had chosen to cover the horrors of the Boer War.

In a cartoon there is more information and more detail about a specific story than that offered by illustrations. Furthermore, the use of Gombrich's six filters (see my Chapter on Methodology) enriches our understanding of the cartoon's construct as a conveyor of context and opinion about the Boer War. The analysis and synthesis of the interpretation of cartoons is addressed in terms of hermeneutics – by its own rules - rather than just those of the observer, as there are many layers to assimilate from the visual literature. Whilst this Chapter is as dispassionate as can be, the understanding of the world of cartooning can be deeply subjective, especially in biased images; therefore the academic must have the use of a clear analytical framework that provides the necessary distance for scholarly analysis.

The rhetoric of image is a biased terminology by which political cartoonists use artistic licence to depict a version of the truth. The biases to be considered comprise of the following: the political slants of the publications in which the cartoons appear; the background and political stance of the cartoonists; and the slowness or speed of reproductive technology. All of the former factors determine the selection and manipulation of the images used. Furthermore, the analytical filters allow the reader to superimpose individual interpretations from the images.

In addition, political cartoons have a transitory character according to philosopher and literary theorist Kenneth Burke:

“This temporality, as far as the meanings of cartoons are concerned, is due not to the notion that an assertion or inference will lack meaning for some people, but that they will be more persuasive with people living under a particular set of social, historical, political, economic and cultural circumstances.” (Burke, 1962, p.586)

Thus the ideological appropriation of cartoon discourse is a conceptual framework for rendering intelligible to the reader complex policies and geographically distant historical

events. For these reasons, they are far more complex than illustrations in contemporary newspapers that are designed to record and commemorate certain events.

Illustrations have a long history in British and French accounts of important lives and events in authors and journalists' concept of each country's historical self. British versions tend toward the triumphalist mode (*ILN* and others) and the French toward comprehending the reasons behind certain events. Maurice Samuels describes the French use of illustrations in books, after 1789 in particular, as one of using 'the image as a vehicle for historical understanding' (Samuels, in Schwartz & Przyblyski, 2004, p.238). Samuels argues that the French tried to cope with their crises-ridden past and violent changes from that past by relying on images such as illustrations to explain their histories. He cites the examples of two artists, Horace Vernet and Raffet, who both supplied full page and dramatic cut-away images breaking the text into two books about the life of Napoléon Bonaparte.^{xvi}

The celebrated artist Daniel Vierge's (1851-1904) illustrations in J-H Rosny's book (1902) merely show to the reader what was happening at a certain time. In two illustrations (Rosny, 1902, p.156, 192), Boer soldiers are shown setting wire traps in a field (black and white) over which British cavalry are seen tripping in a following colour image. Both illustrations are drawn with elaborate detail giving a clear sense of place, action and purpose that enhances 'reality effects' (Samuels, 2004) to bring the unjustness of the war home to the reader. These paintings were never designed to be satirical or to overtly exaggerate historical facts. Vierge's work does not offer an opinion but illumines Rosny's anti-British point of view.

The former illustration [Plate 14] shows the soldiers on each side are carefully placed and balanced across the compositions. The Boers are drawn in their humble ragged clothes and slouch hats carefully laying out their wires. A sense of calm and quiet command emanates from the mounted Boer captain as he gives his orders. In the latter image [Plate15], the British

battalion struggle in disarray as their attack formation is foiled; the mounted captain's white horse at the centre of the image is as unbalanced as are the surrounding men who fall in all directions. Thus seven hundred and fourteen pages of dense text and illustrations show partisan support for the Boers.

In newspapers, illustrations are often connected to long explanatory texts. In the French newspapers, certain illustrations demonstrated a fixation with the exotic and with national spectacle, for example Paris' *L'Illustration* covered the Tsar's visit to that city in September 1901. In particular, the paper covered the enormous Revue at Bétheny on 21st September with many illustrations of the Tsar reviewing 130,000 troops.

Léon Gimpel's image of Tunisian troops passing in the parade demonstrates a French fascination with the exotic and the scale of interest in Imperialism [Plate 16]. Their costumes and richly dressed Arab horses are drawn in a lively manner, their riders' dark bearded faces swathed in flowing turbans and vast ceremonial headgear. The appeal to the exotic is attached to the reporting of some 20,000 spectators attending the event (Callais, 2001, p.34). A sense of scale is given in the far distant pavilion stretching along the horizon in the background. Other papers such as *Le Petit Journal* emphasised the importance of Franco-Russian accord. A difference between cartoon and illustration is that the former often attacked the subject matter with little or no text and that the latter tended to have long descriptive texts alongside their images. These texts explain to the reader in some detail the newspaper's editorial slant on the depicted event and possibly indicate to the scholar readership alliances to certain points of view about Empire.

“La politique qui a inspiré et fondé l’alliance franco-russe répond à deux préoccupations essentielles. Elle développe également deux forces inséparables: une force extérieure dont la carte de l’Europe, lue d’un rapide regard, démontre immédiatement la valeur et l’étendue; une force intérieure aussi facile à

expliquer et à comprendre, puisque l'unanimité du sentiment national, la communauté d'un travail continu, la tension de l'énergie patriotique personnifiée par une constante préparation militaire, sont la raison d'être, la condition même de l'accord." (Ernest Judet, 1901, 20 September)

In Veber's version of the Review there is an explicit manipulation of foreign affairs transposed onto home news in a truly counter-hegemonic image 'Le Nuage' [Plate 17]. Gombrich's filters permit the analyst to compare the relative size, number and nature of the items within the composition. Veber's device using a vast Kruger shaped cloud telescopes a critical comment onto the Boer War, compressing a metaphor about casting a shadow over the whole celebration. A Gramscian perspective demonstrates that an all-powerful elite of five people commands an enormous gathering of soldiery. Veber offers sharp comment on homogenous, French, male triumphalism against the single ragged figure of Kruger's shadow overhanging the review.

Le Petit Journal wrote about the King at length in an article titled 'Roi d'Angleterre, empereur des Indes'.

"Si seulement il proposait à son gouvernement, comme don de joyeux avènement, la fin de cette horrible guerre du Transvaal, dont sa mère est morte! Ses ministres ne seraient peut-être point fâchés d'un prétexte pour sortir de cruels embarras et ce serait pour Édouard VII un bien heureux commencement de règne."
(1901, *Le Petit Journal*: 10 February) [Plate 18]

The excerpt above, extracted from a much larger article, focuses on the King's love of entertainments, highlights concerns about his public image and questions his seeming lack of interest in French politics, all presented as historical fact and in hindsight largely accurate. Punch's version by Sambourne (Plate 19: 6th February) is captioned with Mr Punch bowing and obsequiously saluting the new King. Both images are quite closely related in that the two publications provide an illustration of Edward VII in his pomp as a formal acknowledgement of his inherited duties to serve his country. *Punch's* image achieves its gently mocking status

by dint of its appearance in a satirical magazine, thus lightly reminding the readers of their (and *Punch's*) allegiance to the new King but reinforcing the magazines right to poke a little fun. Though Sambourne never criticised the King directly in his cartoons, the signs are present in the contrast of the tiny Mr Punch next to the resplendent monarch on his high dais; the implication is that he could be a subject for ridicule in the time-honoured fashion of political cartoonists.

Sambourne did buck the trend of supporting Imperialist foreign policy at times. Later in the year, Sambourne preferred to apportion direct blame for perceived intrigues onto other national leaders. In 'A Matter of Business' [Plate 20], the Tsar and Kaiser shake hands on a deal as French President Emile Loubet oversees the proceedings while skulking in the shadows. Both artists criticise the French President and French culture for hosting such a meeting. Sambourne directly implicates and imbues Loubet with a sense of backing shady business and Veber attacks the Emperors and France.^{xvii} Thus, a tension arises on looking at this image when Edward VII had been visiting Paris at the same time. Veber's image of the King in 'Le Baiser Stérile' [Plate 21] is certainly a much more obvious indicator of cutting criticism and he directly attributes the atrocities of war and failed *Entente Cordiale* to the English King's pleasure seeking reputation, depicted sharing an intimate kiss with Tsar Nicholas, overseen by 'Marianne' in her warrior guise. It is a comment on the 'Willy-Nicky' relationship and highly suggestive of Veber focusing on another set of self-indulgent imperialists for *L'Assiette* to lambast. Germany expressed sympathy for the Boers yet did nothing to aid them. Baron von Holstein, the German Foreign Minister, wrote the following appraisal of international relations concerning the Boer War:

"Policy must be judged not by words but by facts, and it is an important fact that on two separate occasions since the Boer War began Germany rejected an official suggestion to participate in so-called "good offices"! (handwritten note from Bulow: "*Very good*") My feelings of loyalty prevented me from

mentioning the source of these suggestions. If Germany had joined in, probably every State, certainly every European State great and small, would have done the same, and it was easy to calculate the influence of such an event on the population of Cape Colony. The “man in the street” had no practical influence. Sympathy for the Boers was not confined to Germany only; many sections of humanity wished success to the Boers simply out of hostility towards the institution of standing armies. Even if the Boer War ended in England's favour I was sure that it would inflict permanent injury on her, and I wished therefore--with my presentiment that in the future England and Germany were destined to follow a common path--that England would thoroughly reorganise her land forces. As for the present relations between the two countries, I considered that the question of an affiance could not in practice be discussed whilst Lord Salisbury remained in power. The only thing to do now was to leave the future open, if this could be done.” (Memorandum by Baron von Holstein, German Foreign Office, October 31st, 1901 in E.T.S. Dugdale, (1930), pp.140-52)

Thus, Veber's outrageous image demonstrates his editorial freedom to comment on the elite's abuses of power in a manner that the Empire-loving Sambourne could never achieve.

Pascal Venier (in Wilson, 2001, pp.73-75) attests to the many times the Russians, French and Germans had tried to renegotiate territorial and financial initiatives their own separate advantage. There were also several attempts by the Russians to intervene in favour of the Boer Republic and to ask for King Edward to cease fighting in South Africa (Lee, 1927, pp.765-6). All these initiatives came to nothing. Thus in cartoons, historical roles of leadership are reappropriated in a language of signs and signifiers in order to provide exaggerated comment about diplomatic failures.

In historical terms these signs and signifiers achieve a structure of their own. George Steiner explains the paradox of different types of past impacting on the present:

“It is not the literal past that rules us, save, possibly in a biological sense. It is images of the past. These are often as highly structured and selective as myths. Images and symbolic constructs of the past are imprinted, almost in the manner of genetic information, on our sensibility. Each new historical era

mirrors itself in the picture and active mythology of its past or of a past borrowed from other cultures. It tests its sense of identity, of regress or new achievement, against that past.” (Steiner, 1971, p.3)

Greenberg agrees with Edy (1999) below:

“The temporal dimension of visual news discourse is of [historical] importance not only because cartoons provide a lens through which an implied version of the past may be examined vis-à-vis present conditions but also because media accounts of [war] phenomena have repercussions for how societies relate to their own histories.” (Edy, 2008, p.73)

Thus, the claims (Greenberg, 2008; Mumby & Spitzack, 1983, p.34, *inter alia*) constructed in political cartoons are indicative of whether a society will conceive of itself as a collective or a set of different groups (see the Chapter on Nationalism), and whether it will cross-examine its past critically or simply accept it. Thus, political cartoons can not only provide evidence of the manner by which visual discourse conveys reported and historical experience, but they also help “constitute the subjectivities and identities of subjects, their relations, and the field in which they exist” (Purvis & Hunt, 1993, pp.473-99).

However, this is not to assert that political cartoons causally influence how individuals and groups will identify themselves in moments of stability or crisis. Significantly, in speaking of such visual discourses, it is probably more pertinent to refer to “the persuasion to *attitude*, rather than persuasion to out-and-out *action*” (Burke, 1962: 574; emphases added). Political cartoons are, according to Burke, “an optic to a timely topic that exploits commonplaces of a transitory nature” (*ibid.*, p.586). Political cartoons thus have the power to inform and persuade. Cartoons render normative opinionated judgements about reported and historical issues by utilizing a variety of artistic conventions, such as figures of speech, metaphors and irony. As Savarese notes, influential techniques such as the aforementioned are used either “deliberately or unwittingly to convince the public of a certain point of view (for or against something) without being explicit” (Savarese, 2000, p. 365). As the empirical portion of this thesis will

endeavour to show, the persuasiveness of any claim about a given reported and/or historical ‘problem’ will resonate only when the audience being addressed is understood to have experienced a set of socio-historical conditions that enable those claims to make sense about war phenomena in a meaningful way.

Burke surmises that, in order for political cartoons to be cognitively persuasive, they must address a timely topic that exploits transitory, common-sense ideas (Burke 1962). Thus these notions are presented in order to provide a sense of the discursive context from which the cartoons that comprise the next selection of images can be seen to make sense. It suggests that as “part of the gallery for news accounts” (Gamson & Stuart, 1992, p.61), political cartoonists draw upon, reinforce and reproduce the commentary of opinion columnists, editorial writers and other claims-makers or “opinion formulators” (van Dijk, 1998a, 1988b) included more prominently in media discourse. An example to highlight the difficulties of that discourse is the case of British treatment of Boer prisoners of war as represented in illustrations and cartoon form in the press.

Long texts typical of describing attached illustrations dominated the newspapers, repeated below to supply a contrast to the much briefer captions in political cartoons [Plate 22]. Attached to the Plate 22, *Le Petit Journal* wrote at length about the Boer’s plight, here edited:

“Voici comme ils traitent les malheureuses femmes qu'ils ont emmenées à Port-Elisabeth; nous citons textuellement! Le récit de M. Van der Velt, témoin oculaire: “Je ne pus retenir mes larmes à la vue d'une bande de femmes, d'une maigreur famélique, n'ayant sur elles pour se couvrir que les vêtements strictement indispensables. La soldatesque qui les avait expulsées de leurs habitations, la torche à la main, ne leur avait même pas laissé le temps de se vêtir. Nombre de ces femmes, en état de grossesse avancée, vont pieds nus, ne possédant ni bas ni laine pour en tricoter. Les malheureuses créatures passent des nuits glaciales sous des tentes, couchées sur de simples planches; de lits nulles part. Beaucoup d'entre elles couchent même le sol détrempé par les pluies, et le plus grand nombre envient le sort de celles de

leurs compagnes qui ont trouvé un abri dans les écuries vides; là, du moins, elles sont au sec.” (4th March, 1901)

Le Petit Journal's extended reportage of terrible conditions in the camps is the main feature that is illustrated with a colour image. In direct contrast Veber's stark black and white account of dying and dead children is undermined with a caption of Kitchener's own official report about how restful and clean the camps are. In fact, the Bloemfontein Camp had only 13 latrines for 30,000 people and soap was decreed a luxury (W032/Hobhouse Papers). The simple reappropriation of Kitchener's words in Veber's cartoons opens dialectic on the nature of how text and image may support or destabilize each other in newspapers and satirical magazines respectively [Plate 23], especially in Gramscian terms as evidence of power struggles against the ruling elite (Palmeri, 2009, pp.32-48). The device used in cartoons also offered commentary about those in power and the efficacy of their policies.

The implications are numerous, however, three of the following are particularly useful. First, the suggestion is made that making a victim claim is an easy, seamless process that offers a variety of interpretations; second, the cartoonist suggests that the Government policy is glaringly ineffective; and third, the cartoon is 'blind' to the positive characteristics of the country's policy so far as the presence of prisoners is concerned. The cartoon reduces the issue of the internees to a binary struggle ('us' versus 'them'; 'our' requirements versus 'their' desires): and so becomes a powerful motivational tool. One may argue that what results from this is a dialectical construction of 'self' and 'other' that depicts an Imperialist conception of British interests in South Africa under threat. This interpretation also highlights the importance of Burke's assessment that a key principle of rhetoric is "identification [elicits] that kind of elation wherein the audience feels as though it were not merely receiving, but were itself creatively participating in the [artist's] assertion" (Burke, 1962, pp.579-83; 1966, pp.301-02).

Purvis & Hunt summarize the understanding of visual or verbal/written journalistic texts as a comprehension of discourse that “provides a vehicle for thought, communication and action” (Purvis & Hunt, 1993, p.485). That is, visual news discourse has both an ideational and material quality that confronts readers and poses possibilities for changes in consciousness and provokes calls to action.

Conclusion

Cartoons are far more important in demonstrating opinions about an event than newspaper illustrations because cartoons as a construct convey meaning and knowledge other than a simple relation of an occasion. The imaginary worlds that are depicted in political cartoons utilize comedic conventions to provide readers with views of the far distant Boer War (Wilson, 2001; Morris, 1991, pp. 225-54). The cartoons discussed here, addressing politics, leadership, and suffering emphasize how the mundane discourses and rhetorical style germane to satirical journalism are illustrative of the discursive insinuation of concern and anxiety into weekly debate.

The reader is also important to consider. As Barthes examines the paradox of the reader as he accumulates codes in order to decode, he becomes ‘overcoded’ (Barthes, 1976, p.42).^{xviii} It is also useful to consider a concept of the reader in terms of their understanding of cartoons and how they might have assumed and acquired codes to interpret cartoons. The extent to which graphic depictions of dying and death resonated with readers and accelerate attitudinal change, or the desire to act, is an empirical question that requires a methodological schema different from that employed here. Thus, while cartoons are normally understood by readers to be satirical depictions of actual reported events, they nevertheless draw from an available stock of public knowledge and attempt to reproduce a universal view of the world. In a similar way that newspaper editorial writers attempt to apply pressure to political decision makers to act in

a particular way, the claims embedded within political cartoons have the capacity of persuading readers toward attitudinal change. This is not so with newspaper or book illustrations – these merely provide an image to accompany the text. However, cartoonists draw on opportune topics that have already been established in the mainstream media as meriting public attention and comment. Though they present the war in hyper figurative terms, political cartoons are but one form of opinion news discourse that encourages the public to actively categorize, organize and interpret what they see and experience these images in tangibly significant ways.

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CHAPTER THREE - Literature Review

This review is split into four parts - the first is historical approaches to aspects of the War, the second is art historical analysis, and the third is journalism and cartoon history. In the fourth part, all of the above are considered in their relationship to Sambourne and Veber's political cartoons' headline representations as a mixture of artistic exaggeration and a critical version of the truth. There are several other areas of scholarship touched upon in this thesis. These are: aspects of nationalism as the context for contemporary thinking, art historical styles and semiotics, gender studies as a form of representation and cultural motivation, *inter alia*, that can help an understanding of the historical, industrial and production context of these magazines. One example is described in each of the major sections in the review. In doing so, this thesis aims to highlight particular areas of interest in relevant fields of scholarship.

Approaches to studying the Boer War

In terms of reporting the Boer War through political cartoons, it can be argued that indeed some kind of idealism about good journalism and its version of historical context pervades the designs. In order to analyse the relationship of idealism to the field of journalism, it is useful to approach both from a tangent – an angle as it is termed in journalism – so that fresh insights might be gained. Benedict Anderson argues from such acute angles about the nature of nationalism in *Imagined Communities* (2006), particularly in the development and impact of secular state language on 'uniting' hugely variant dispersed communities via journalism, that a peculiar picture of national identity emerges. That image is one of a largely conceived multi-layered diaspora with subcultures and substructures of its own. The problem with Anderson's view is one of ultra-focus that often fails to explain what the community is

that he is describing; over-definition leads to a dissolving of that very community's essence. In terms of describing aspects of nationalism in newspapers and magazines this may be a destructive technique when analysing highly defined notions of nationhood and belonging in wartime.

Used in Chapters Six and Seven, Thomas Pakenham (2004) is an invaluable secondary source in the Boer War. His book was the first full-scale account of the war since Leo Amery's giant seven-volume edition (1902-1910). Pakenham uses public and private primary sources to support his narrative. He provides evidence from both sides, and all levels of society, that demonstrated how some saw this war as 'a gentleman's war' and 'Milner's little Armageddon' by others (Pakenham, 2004, p.572).

In historical articles, it is very rare indeed to find academic discussions about political cartoons themselves, and they are almost never set within their logical place within the context in which they appear in a magazine or paper. One reason for this absence may be reluctance on the part of historians of any sort to consider the images themselves as primary sources, though Palmeri does attempt to redress the balance but can only do so in a limited fashion (Palmeri, 2009, in Barber & Peniston-Bird, pp.32-48). Problems of scarcity also arise when addressing historiographic concerns in relation with visual culture and Boer war.

Often historians use photographs or graphic illustrations as their only pictorial reference to the war. [for more analysis on this see Chapters Five and Six] Very few titles refer directly to Punch's political cartoons (Simon (ed.), 2001; Sibbald, 1993; Staniforth, 1900), and some refer to cartoons as mere illustrations to their histories of the Boer War. Articles on the topic are even scarcer, as the historiographic trend documenting the war has been and still is largely based on so-called traditional primary sources other than images. Ian Gaskell's essay (1991) offers new perspectives on how images function in history as part of a drive by some historians

to become more liberal in their use of sources. These include an increase in the acceptance of visual material and adaptation of the theories of visual culture.

Contemporary sources on the Boer War.

Historiographer Frederik van Hartesveldt states that:

“general surveys of war are often only introductory. Authors often have significant influence on how a particular topic is viewed and understood by general and even scholarly readers. The Boer War, a relatively small conflict, generated many more such overviews than most colonial conflicts.”
(Hartesveldt, 2000, p.12)

The ‘Official History’ (Maurice & Grant 1906-10; NA, WO32/4755-4763) is four and seven volumes, respectively, of historicising dedicated to military operations avoiding controversial topics, and blandly promotes the British imperialist position that they were right to fight this war.

Contemporary accounts of the Boer War also provide primary data about war reporting and attempted historicisation of a current event. Leo Amery’s (1901-2) editions of *The Times History of the War in South Africa* (BL, W12/5692 DSC) and Rosny’s (1902) *La guerre anglo-boer, Histoire et récits d’après des documents officiels* (BL, X.802/4871) provide two very different accounts of the war, but each attempts to assert a moral superiority. Rosny’s view focuses on ‘barbaric’ British treatment of the Boers, Amery underwrites Britain’s supposed right to civilise the apparently brutish Boers. Amery’s edited seven volumes is a far more opinionated version sometimes attacking perceived British incompetents, for example excoriating General Redvers Buller after the siege of Ladysmith, but on the whole the book remains extremely nationalistic.

Interpretation of the war varies widely. Some contemporary writers focus on the local power struggles between the Uitlanders and the Boers (Cook, 1901; Harding, 1899; Staniforth). The French contemporary recorder Rosny's book is clearly pro-Boer and begins his 714 page book with a letter from Paul Kruger to the French president Loubet thanking him for his sympathy and support "pour la juste cause des Republiques" (Rosny, 1902, p.1) [For more discussion see Chapters Two and Conclusion]. Rosny's account of the war from the French point of view is a thorough contemporary commentary on events and persons, especially Milner, Chamberlain and Kitchener, adopting a strong anti-British stance, using evidence drawn from British published official papers and some newspaper articles, and a few published letters. Reports from *The Times*, *The Westminster Gazette* (13 March 1902) and the liberal *The Daily News*, enable Rosny to build up a compelling case against London's policies for South African governance, especially concerning the race issue, concentration camps and personal will to rule (Rosny, 1902, pp. 633, 691-2). He praises Emily Hobhouse's report and cites *The Daily News's* alarm over published statistics of the Bloemfontein camp's dead over a 5-week period (*The Daily News*, 4 July 1901). He also accuses Milner and Chamberlain directly for policy of genocide.

"Les Burghers verront clairement que la guerre de Chamberlain et Milner est une guerre d'extermination"
(*ibid.*, p.629).

There is strong anti-imperialist criticism of:

"la plus riche nation globale laissa s'accomplir le crime innoble [referring to the scorched earth policy and concentration camps]. Les brillats guerriers prient sur des femmes et des enfants une hypocrite vengeance. Le peuple anglais accepta l'abomination: le rêve d'exterminer la race heroïque des Boers."
(*ibid.*, p.630)

Rosny does use photographs and graphic illustrations throughout his book. The photographs act as evidence of the effects of war and the participants' presence in that theatre of war. Daniel

Vierge's many coloured graphic illustrations are interpretations of more dramatic accounts of engaging with the enemy, and are based on newspaper and official reports of battles and preparation for the same. These images are deliberate re-enactments designed to lionise the cunning Boer as he lays tripwires across the veldt in one image, and mock the British in another as their horses and men stumble and become easy targets for the Boers (*ibid.*, p.156, 192). However, there are no images of the camps and certainly no satirical images.

Historiography and the war image

In Chapter One, written historiography permits a possibility of exchanges with certain forms of visual culture (Jenks, 1995; McQuire, 1998; Cheetham, Holly & Moxey, 2005, pp.75-90). Histories are extremely varied, and scholarly differences about the Boer War do not necessarily agree on the use or interpretation of visual material as sources on this topic, most of which tends to be text.

Van Hartesveldt, in his thorough and perceptive appraisal of the use of historiographic tools and perspectives, supplies a welcome contribution about sources and analysis on the Boer War. This is a discussion of historiography in which the changing ideas about the war are examined and at least the more significant works in which the changes 'are expressed and acknowledged' (Hartesveldt, 2000, p.1). The remainder of the book contains an extensive annotated bibliography on the subject. But in 1378 examples there is only one reference to cartoons and the Boer War (the cartoonist Staniforth, 1900), an omission perhaps determined by historians' reliance on traditional documents as evidence of political feeling, as noted by the historiographer's work. Nevertheless it is important to understand why this happened so as to gain an overview of discourse about the war. Thus Hartesveldt's opinion on general surveys is ambivalent and necessarily detached. However Hartesveldt includes several contemporary accounts in his historiographic list (Rosny, 1902; Maurice & Grant, 1906-10; Amery, 1900-

1909; Cook, 1901; Harding, 1899). Including contemporary records presents a problem for the historian in that these versions of events are limited to the author's polemic.

Later analysis also concentrated on Uitlander and Boer aspects of the war (Keppel-Jones, 1961; Koss, 1973; Call, 1996, pp.66-84) and also the Pro-Boer protests. Scholarship on Britain's defensive role to oppose 'Krugerism' is another angle explored (Cornelius De Kiewiet's economic view, (1965 translation); R.C.K. Ensor (1936) - an excellent if slightly pro Boer version; E.A. Walker (1942) – a detailed overview of Milner's role as High Commissioner in South Africa).

Hartesveldt draws a view of Boer war histories as generally concerned with the business of being right or wrong, or of being on one side or another, or focused on one or two characters. He notes that this limited viewpoint may be due to partisanship of personal involvement or indeed newspapers' editorial views. He also highlights difficulties of historiographic overviews.

Some scholars select specific aspects of the causes and effects of the Boer War. Hobson (1901) blames the crisis on the greed of gold-mining magnates. Atkinson (1972) expands on this idea and explores the wish of capitalists to maintain power stating that the war was driven by these men, representing the South African League, was in fact a British scheme to put these magnates in control of South Africa's wealth: all controlled by London. These views are criticised by Iain Smith (1996), the latter is an excellent synthesis and overall picture of past interpretations and the then current knowledge. Porter (1980) and Marais (1961) support Milner and Chamberlain and emphasise that pressure on the Boers is only part of expansive imperialism. They insist that the Cape to Cairo concept in the 'Scramble for Africa' would have occurred anyway, with or without the gold. All these aspects helped to shape opinions about how the Boer War was perceived in cartoons and disseminated in magazines.

The journalism history section in Chapter One outlines the academic argument on the background history of newspapers and journals necessary for understanding the development of *Punch* and *L'Assiette* in context, but affects a deliberate emphasis on historiography as the lens through which accounts of the war are projected to the reader. Press history is broadly chronological in its explanations of nineteenth and twentieth century newspaper development, from educative early nineteenth century publications to the representative perspective of New Journalism and war propaganda.

Continuity and change.

The Marxist literary critic Walter Benjamin (1936, reprint 2008) writes of an ‘aura’ attached to singular works of art, a special kind of reaction that promotes a quasi-religious relationship to a certain piece. He argues that the aura disappears when a work is reproduced for the gaze and control of a mass audience freed from place and ritual in the late nineteenth century. “For the first time in world history, mechanical reproduction emancipates the work of art from its parasitical dependence on ritual” (Benjamin, 2008, p.24).

Recent scholars’ work on the place of magazines and newspapers is focussed on changes associated with mass production rather than on continuities of form and tradition in the press. *Punch* and *L'Assiette* belong in the continuity category because they did not need to transform their craft-based format of drawing to transmit its powerful message to the reader.

Journalism history scholars document cartoons in various ways. Some books focus on monographic accounts of a publication, journalist or magnate (Veber & Lacroix; Price; Spielmann; Dixmier & Dixmier; Prager). Journal articles fail to deal with political cartoons as part of journalism history in any depth. There were a very few articles written in the 1960s and 1970s that built on even scarcer earlier scholarship, but they attached cartoons to historical

events or generic typology rather than journalism history, and almost never on the topic of the Boer War.

Social and cultural historians Briggs & Burke's *A Social History of the Media* (2002) is an encyclopaedic synthesis of a social history of the press in the West. They explore the relationships between communication media and other aspects of social and cultural life. Their aim is to place history into the media, and then position media into historical studies, by examining the notion that the masses became notified of issues and each other through the newspapers. Thus for Briggs & Burke, nineteenth century newspapers, 'helped fashion national consciousness by making people aware of their fellow readers' (Briggs & Burke, 2002:1). They argue that history is important in appreciating journalistic values of, for instance, political cartoons as part of an extended and inherited visual tradition. While Briggs & Burke wish to make the media reader aware that communication studies is descended from older traditions, they also try to avoid linearity in order to avoid the danger of assigning an era as any better or worse than another.

In Chapter Four, however, in analysing political cartoons we must go further in examining finer points of Marxist views on the 'system'. This is a view that requires the scholar to focus not only on the gap between employers and employed in journalism but also to explore the gap between rulers and ruled as it is portrayed in political cartoons in 1901. Gramsci's theory of cultural hegemony demonstrates that a minority political elite often exploits the majority, who voted/agreed that elite into a position of power, in order to maintain the *status quo*. This is true of journalistic institutions and a particularly interesting case is made of magazines that carry political cartoons. Images that convey the hegemonic power struggle have their opposite number also, in counter-hegemonic reactions to perceived cultural and social abuses committed by the elite. Jurgen Habermas in his *Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* (1989) expanded on this Marxist idea, analysing how it transformed notions of

news in the workplace and discussed journalism as a profession - he “concluded that this world had become a ‘systems world’ with a new calendar” (Briggs & Burke, 2002, p.120; Habermas, 1989, pp.181-235). How does the political cartoon fit into this “new calendar”?

Though the authors attempt to reposition media studies and point out distinctions and systems in Marxist and other analyses, Briggs & Burke only describe *Punch* in a glancing reference to its nature as “watcher, curator, protector, chastiser and lancet” of government policy (Briggs & Burke, 2002, pp.206, 222). Their only attempt at cartoon use on page 114 is to show one *Punch* image of John Tenniel’s ‘What Will He Grow Into?’ - King Coal and King Steam watch over the Infant Electricity - as a general reference to the authors’ chapter heading ‘From Steam To Electricity’ (*ibid.*, pp.106-120). They note continuity but they focus on change. There is no attempt to explain the proper context of the cartoon’s possible relationship with progress as part of journalism. Neither is there ever any mention of how and why *Punch*’s cartoons function as primary evidence in representing anything, let alone war.

Curran & Seaton’s book *Power without Responsibility* (2003, first written in 1981) engages with theoretical perspectives applied to the history and politics of media as a social institution. They place great emphasis on censorship and political movements as the central to their argument about ‘press freedom’ as defined by liberals and conservatives who exercise power with or without accountability as liberation or control of the press respectively by each political faction. They map out the battle between the two extremes as one “between the authoritarian right who want to deregulate the media but be subject to stronger legal constraint and the libertarian inclined to favour greater public service regulation of the media while seeking to minimise direct legal controls” (Curran & Seaton, 2003, p.412).

Thus Curran & Seaton see this dualism as an inadequate description of media politics and they posit that today’s media now have “power with responsibility” (*ibid.*, p.412). It is also

possible to see that advertising keeps a publication functioning can be applied in a general sense to explain the survival of organs that carry cartoons (*ibid.*, pp.49, 53). Do *Punch* and *Assiette* exercise ‘power without responsibility’ in the use and manipulation of war images as part of their drive to continue promoting their political views? It can be argued in the affirmative. The press freedoms alluded to by Curran & Seaton directly allowed publishers to buy into and/or dictate the nature of political cartoons. When the 1859 British press taxes were repealed by 1869 open competition all but killed the radical newspaper.

“Underlying this shift was the growing power and confidence of the Victorian middle class which dominated the parliamentary campaign for repeal of press taxes and recognised in the expanding press a powerful agency for advancement of their interests” (*ibid.*, pp.21-22).

These interests were wide-ranging and general and were reflected in the remaining national and regional newspapers’ adverts and articles. The problem here is that this model does not fit the political cartoon magazine’s profile - *Punch* flourished despite such measures or controls because it was an establishment organ and not a radical paper.

“During the half-century following the “taxes on knowledge”, a number of radical newspapers closed down or were eventually incorporated...into the mainstream of popular liberal journalism. Militant journalism survived only in the etiolated form of small circulation national periodicals and struggling weeklies. Yet this decline occurred during a period of rapid press expansion” (*ibid.*, p.24).

Contrary to this trend, satirical magazines like *Punch* and *L’Assiette* that had developed along slightly different lines than those of the straight newspapers, and *L’Assiette* remained resolutely defiant of the French government. [More discussions on contrary trends are to be found in Chapters One, Six and Seven] They adhered to their radical politics with a stance that kept the magazines on the stalls and in readers’ homes; the cartoon provided the anchor against strong disapproving currents promoted by some of the nationalist press. Curran & Seaton’s appraisal of ‘Whig history’ and its effects on press freedom does bear some weight in

supporting the genesis of a notion of power without responsibility in journalism - but unfortunately perhaps, if it is attached to the case of cartoons, their theories do not acknowledge or analyse the role these images perform as buckers of political or historical trends.

Yet this thesis seeks to examine how and why weekly political journals like *Punch* and *Assiette* survived and flourished, especially covering the Boer War with relatively tiny circulations, using a unique combination of artistic enhancement and opinionated reporting and commentary. [see Chapters One, Two, Four, Five and Six] Gorman & McLean never explain this phenomenon, because their interest lies in analysing the social context of mass media. There is an element in Gorman & McLean's book of Benjamin's cultural theory (Benjamin, 2008, pp. 19-55) that analyses how the age of mass media allows readers/audiences to engage with a work of art repeatedly, but in Gorman & McLean's work transferred to huge circulation and dissemination of news (Gorman & McLean, 2003, pp.209-229).

Comparative styles

Out of these histories and political movements emerges a broad view of journalism history as affected by social and political forces and effecting change in styles of communication. It is necessary to explore the ideologies of comparative press histories to supply this thesis with the necessary overview for its own examination of British and French press reaction to the Boer War. Curran & Seaton and Gorman & McLean do not discuss French press history at all; Conboy mentions it only in passing, as does Anderson; Briggs & Burke cover a very only general description of the French media.

Journalism historian Jane Chapman's *Comparative Media History* focuses on an ideological and economic review of the media's development from the modern era 1789 to the

present day, focusing on continuities and change. In her thematic survey of world journalism history she offers a comparative view of the key ideas that drive media growth and expansion in several different countries influenced by industrial, ideological and historical changes. The Boer War, she says, was the ‘first media war’ on account of technological advancements that allowed news to travel quickly from the front to a global readership. She writes that “the role of press coverage became so important,... not only because of more extensive coverage than any war previously, but also because the press helped to whip up pro-war feeling beforehand and was used for propaganda during the conflict” (Chapman, 2005, p.112). Indeed this technological advance allowed cartoonists to reflect opinions about the news within a day of its arrival and published as a cartoon in the very next edition of *Punch* or *L’Assiette*. In this context, Chapter Three explores how the effect of British and French government foreign policy is reported in a news story and how it in turn ‘travels’ to the political cartoon. Crucially, Chapman includes a thorough appraisal of French press history in tandem with its counterparts in Britain, Germany and the United States. She states that fin-de-siècle France experienced a golden age in their journalism due in no small measure to “increased literacy, technological inventions and the liberating effect of legalized press freedom” (*ibid*, p.118).

News conveying ‘a sense of place’

Terhi Rantanen explores a new idea of place that emerged among nineteenth century newspaper readership made possible by technological advances. She says:

“...the first electronic news in the 19th century *increased* readers’ sense of place; it brought them simultaneous news from many places. Instead of losing their sense of place, readers became more aware of place, they acquired a *new* sense of place. They consumed the news at home, but it came from distant locations. Foreign news takes place elsewhere, and it only makes sense if its readers understand the difference between here and there. But it does not make sense if news does not offer a point of identification to readers. These points of identification made and make it possible for readers to be here-

and-there at the same time and thus strengthen their sense of place. Beck (2000: 72) uses the term *place polygamy*, when people have access to several places instead of one. He refers to people who actually travel, but we can extend his concept to news. The difference is, of course, that while people travel, the news audience stays at home. It is only news that travels” (Rantanen, 2003, p.438).

In the case of reporting the Boer War, this ‘sense of place’ was attached to nationalist, imperialist and patriotic feeling on both sides of the fight. Kenneth O Morgan (2002, pp.1-16) explored how London’s media were every quick to manipulate the readership to reflect the publications’ imperialist views. Illustrations in publications like *Illustrated London News* largely mirror this view. Others examine the ideological myths of nations (Jacob Talmon, 1981). On the French side, Vierge’s graphic illustrations (Rosny, 1902) underline the anti-imperialist sense of place. Political cartoons conveyed similar messages of support or dissent but are critically more savage about ideas of place and ownership. Rosny’s book about the Boer War falls into a traditional mould and in this case he attempts to create an illustrated history of reported contemporary events.

Cartoons and the Boer War

Books and articles on the subject of political cartoons are spread over a very wide area and across many fields of study. As discussed in Chapter One and Two, only the most general overview of cartoon history is gained from surveys and monographs (Grand-Carteret, 1888; Hillier, 1970; Lucie Smith, 1981; Feaver & Gould, 1981), and encyclopaedias (Bryant & Heneage, 1994). Exhibition catalogues (Bills, 2006) focus on one figure or perspective in isolation. Jocular newspaper articles highlight popular and topical aspects of cartooning but do not reach any depth of analysis (Adams, 2009; Ashley, 2003). Academic articles are plentiful but scattered widely - this type of coverage featuring cartoons in journals range from the general to the particular. The gamut of articles gleaned from various disciplines may

contribute concise insights to the world of cartooning, but they are limited by that concision or by a focus on the cartoon's relationship in specific circumstances to particular abstract concepts (Emmison & McHoul, 1987, pp.93-112). They do not, as a body of work, aim to fully explain how or why a political cartoon functions as a journalistic object. Focused studies on primary material are not designed provide an adequate model to appreciate cartoons as part of the larger industrial and historical framework of journalism. Some articles centre on a particular angle of interest, for example, the publication's relationship with the reader (Steakley, 1983, pp.20-51).

The tight focus of article titles and publications, here listed in full to show the great range of intellectual curiosity that cartoons inspire across many fields of study in books and articles, illustrates a catholic interest in the cartoon. They are: Sadoski & Paivio, 2001, pp.259-262) in *Reading And Writing*; 'Observations on a Theory of Political Cartoons' in *Comparative Studies in Society and History* (Coupe, 1969, II (1), pp. 79-95); El Rafie, 2003, 2 (1), pp.75-95); Gombrich & Kris 1938, 'Understanding visual metaphor: the example of newspaper cartoons' in *Visual Communication*; XVII (3&4), pp.319-342) 'The Principles of Caricature' in *The British Journal of Medical Psychologists*; Morris, 1992, in 'Cartoons and the political system' *Canadian Journal of Communication* 17, pp.253-258; Kinsey & Taylor 1982, 'Some meanings of political cartoons' in *Operant Subjectivity* 5, pp.107-114; Gamson & Stuart, 1992, 'Media discourse as a symbolic contest: the bomb in political cartoons' in *Sociological Forum* 7:, pp.55-86. Some articles do approach comparative methods, but they often fail to understand political cartoons on their own terms. One of the clearest attempts to analyse cartoons as a critique on events is Palmeri's article in Barber & Peniston-Bird's (2009) *History Beyond Text*, a collection of insights about approaching alternative sources as evidence of versions of history. Palmeri uses a Gramscian theoretical context by which to understand this type of comment on power and abuses of authority as critiques of historical events. He is correct in his

comment that cartoons can never provide complete histories of the stories on which cartoonists comment. However, his analysis lacks a certain finesse of appreciation where an application of Gombrich's art historical methods offer further clues to the depth of feeling about abuses of power, especially in the Boer War (Palmeri, in Barber & Peniston-Bird, 2009, pp.32-48).

Cartoons and journalism

Where there are direct attempts to address editorial cartoons in journalistic context they are often disappointingly brief. Their full references are listed in the text to demonstrate the juxtaposition of question and page number for comparison with more extensive articles. Leroy Carl's 'Editorial cartoons fail to reach many readers' (because they do not appreciate or know the contextual reference in America) in *Journalism Quarterly* is not an in depth study (Carl, 1968, 45, pp. 533-535); Del Brinkman's article 'Do Editorial Cartoons and Editorials Change Opinions?', also in *Journalism Quarterly* (Brinkman 1968, pp.724-726), attempts to analyse the efficacy in conveying a political slant by examining a cartoon's placement in juxtaposition to an editorial. These two last articles are brief essays over two pages about the political cartoon's role. In recent years there has been a move to feature the workings of political cartoons in context, especially noting cultural or historical changes that affect the presentation of cartoons. In a special edition of *Journalism Studies*, Chris Lamb and others analyse various aspects of cartooning; yet most are biased toward the USA, 'Drawing Power: The limits of editorial cartoons in America' in *Journalism Studies*, chiefly focusing on events post World War II (Lamb, 2007, pp.715-729).

Those books that analyse political cartoons as their subjects are generally limited in that they are not positioned as part of journalism history (Press, 1981). Press's theory states that cartooning is reliant on government politics, and that in totalitarian regimes they must support

the system and denounce its enemies (Press, 1981, pp.52-53). Some dissent occurs in authoritarian regimes. France's system in particular has inspired generations of caricaturists to criticise the authorities, and to publically highlight points of deep contention. Jacques Lethève, in his 1961 book shows how cartoons expose the French government's perceived weaknesses (also in Press, 1981, pp.53-56). Furthermore, Press suggests that in Western democracies during peacetime, cartoonists try to prick the consciences of those in power (*ibid.*, pp.56-57). However, Press does not go far enough to explain what happens to cartoons in the extreme case of war in any of these regimes, nor does he explore the use of such images as part of journalism history. Though he acknowledges the European historical background, he is biased toward the United States as is Chris Lamb's book and article (2004; 2007, pp.175-729) about the use and abuse of editorial cartoons in the US; see also Roger A. Fischer's (1996) book on more American images. These last three all cite Allan Nevins & Frank Weitenkampf's book (Nevins & Weitenkampf, 1944), another encyclopaedia on US cartoons.

Art historians on the Cartoon

In Chapter One, and throughout this thesis, an extremely important early contribution to the field, and especially about European cartooning, is the work of art historian Ernst Gombrich and his colleague the psychologist Ernst Kris. Between them they mapped out the rudiments of understanding cartoons in their article 'The Principles of Caricature' (Gombrich & Kris, 1938, pp.319-342). Coupe (1969) addresses possible theories that underpin the phenomenon of political cartoons and acknowledges their journalistic value by stating that it is necessary for the scholar to appreciate an interdisciplinary approach, though he does not later expand his theory into a larger study (Coupe, 1969, pp.79-95). Other scholars concentrate on one publication as a whole but almost never on the cartoons inside it. For example, Sharon

Lockyer's (2006) 'Exploring Private Eye's satirical humour and investigative reporting', considers the style and tone of *Private Eye's* text as a variety of critical comments about scandalous events rather than focusing on its satirical image content (Lockyer, 2006, pp. 765-781).

The great French contribution to political cartooning is documented by scholarly appraisal of the form's beginnings, records and developments. French literature on nineteenth century cartoons is headed by Jean Grand-Carteret's (1888) standard survey and lists of most nineteenth century caricature journals. This is flanked by Alexandre (1900); Ragon (1960); Fels (1995, pp. 53-72); Avenal (1900); Roberts-Jones (1963); Sternberg & Deuil (1974); and Duche (1961). Although most document their findings in archive form, some focus on the nature of humour in cartoons (Fabre, 1929); others on how political feeling emerges (Garraud, 1895). An author sometimes centres their study on how cartoons work but these explorations tend to place cartoons out of historical and journalistic context. Others like Arsène Alexandre and Jacques Lethève focus on the general sensitivity felt by the French authorities to the importance of cartoon imagery. Alexandre's (1900) *L'Art du Rire et de la Caricature* is one such example where the author produces a very short survey on censorship and caricature with slight entries and references. For censorship in nineteenth century France, the best sources are Lethève (1961) and Goldstein (1989). For material on general sensitivities about political imagery, see Agulhon (1981); and on propaganda in French art is discussed by James Leith (1965). On Jean Veber, only his playwright brother Pierre Veber (1931) and the *L'Humoriste* columnist Arsène Brivot (1951) have written about the artist, but only in the sketchiest terms have they acknowledged him as a cartoonist. On *L'Assiette*, the Dixmiers (1974) are the chief secondary source placing the magazine in context and providing many useful comparative tables of subjects. Outside France, a very few scholars have mentioned *L'Assiette* in passing

terms (Shaya, 2004; Appelbaum, 1978) or in the context of censorship (Goldstein), or describing its artistic and cultural setting (Weisberg, 2001; Hewitt, 2002).

Punch and L'Assiette

In Chapter One, some scholarship focuses on *Punch* and *Assiette* but these almost always lack focus on political cartoons or cartoonists and prefer to elaborate on the history of the publication, (Price, 1957; Spielmann, 1969; Dixmier & Dixmier, 1974; Prager, 1979; Godfrey, 1984) or else are centred on a small collection of images in exhibition catalogue style (Appelbaum, 1978), or within a topical encyclopaedia (Jobling, in Jones, (2001), pp.118-20).

On journalistic cartoons and newspaper illustrations in general there is much from which to select. Celia Fox's PhD, originally presented in 1973 and published in 1988, outlines the early stages of graphic journalism in England in the mid-nineteenth century (Fox, 1988). She also teamed up with Michael Wolff to provide an excellent survey of the development of magazines in Queen Victoria's reign (Dyos and Wolff, 1973). Another PhD offers a more general survey - Lachlan Moyle's thesis covers a 50-year span of German and British cartoons (including *Punch*) since the Second World War (Moyle, 2004). He hopes to offer what he terms as an 'imagological' methodology, acknowledging the German visual studies culture, as an explanation of cartoons that represent British or German typical traits. However the scope is rather too broad and he never really tackles the importance of journalism historical context.

In some work, weakly stated conceptual frameworks show an attempt to analyse dialogue and response on the topic of cartoons. In this section the full title is indicated to demonstrate the range of articles, for example Al Sayyid Marsot & Afaf Lutfi 'The Cartoon in Egypt' (Marsot & Lutfi, pp. 2-15) and Victor Alba's 'The Mexican Revolution and the Cartoon' (Alba, 1967, pp. 121-136). Lawrence Steicher's comparative study 'On a Theory of Political

Caricature' (Steicher, 1967, pp. 427-445) is a response to Alba and Coupe that challenges their conceptual weakness in tackling cartoons in context. W.A.Coupe's 'The German Cartoon and the Revolution of 1848' (Coupe, 1967, pp. 137-167) is also lacking in strong conceptual framework; however his later work (Coupe, 1969, pp.79-95) explores theories in more depth. Thomas Milton Kemnitz 'The Cartoon as a Historical Resource' (Kemnitz, 1973, pp.81-93) begins to address the historical significance of this type of image. However he focuses on assumptions about the place of political cartoons that they should be situated in one or another field, and thus weakens his argument on their transportability.

In Chapters One, Two and Conclusion, Colin Seymour-Ure's work has somewhat redressed the balance of cartoon studies toward Britain, concentrating his studies on the effects of government policy represented in cartoons (Seymour-Ure, 2007; 2003; 2001; 1996; 1977). [For more discussion on these aspects applied to cartoons, see Chapters Five, Six and Seven]. Specialising in the study of political communication and mass media, Seymour-Ure's views are broad and based on visual analysis with the development of mass circulation newspapers as a political concern. In 'Drawn and Quartered: How wide a world for the political cartoon?' (Seymour-Ure, 1996) he concentrates on a mainly biographical approach in his questions about cartoonists and cartooning, with a short reference to a unified code of comprehending the language of cartoons based on Gombrich's (1956) 'Cartoonists' Armoury'. Although he mentions Gombrich, Seymour-Ure is not concerned with placing the political cartoon as a document of historical importance. Seymour-Ure, in 'What Future for the British Political Cartoon?' focused his study on the survival of the form, and stated that 'any serious threat to editorial cartoons is likely to follow from newspaper developments (technology) rather than television' (Seymour-Ure, 2001, p.349). While he pinpoints particular images to support his hypotheses, he does not approach the study of such images as text within their historical

relevance, nor does he explore in depth a code of the readers' understanding of these texts as a filter through which to apprehend meaning.

He is more formal and traditional than semiotic in his approaches to editorial cartooning, utilising a descriptive technique. In 'Drawing Blood? Prime Ministers and Political Cartoons' he says that "like an editorialist, the cartoonist decides what is worth attention...tells us what he thinks it signifies, and gives us his critical opinion of it" (Seymour-Ure, 2003, p.230). Absorbing as his approach is, there is a lack of theoretical structure in his approaches to cartooning as he concentrates more on analysing political aspects of the mass media – he tends to approach cartooning as an end result of these political machinations. It can be argued that to consider a cartoon, as an end product, is not quite sufficient; it is necessary to understand the processes of the construction and comprehension of certain conventions that this thesis attempts to formulate. Seymour-Ure's 2003 study is an echo of an earlier work on the depiction of party leaders in the general election of 1997 where he states that he explores 'the future of this cartoon tradition...in the light of changes in the size and design of newspapers and the development of television' (Seymour-Ure, 2001, pp.333–355). In noting those conventions, however, he does not approach a comparative methodology that would allow for certain theoretical perspectives (on hegemony – Gramsci, 1996) to offer insight on power struggles of any sort, and thus deepen the debate.

Seymour-Ure (2007) provided an article for a special edition of *Journalism Studies* analysing cartoons in journalism 'Farewell Camelot! British cartoonists' views of the United States since Watergate', (Seymour-Ure, 2007, pp.730-741). In it he analysed the changes in British cartoon representation of American politics. He finds that since Watergate British cartoonists produced more critical images, as scandal emerged, singling out presidents for special attention. However, Seymour-Ure's work does not offer a comprehensive

methodology of political cartoons as historical documents but, in fairness, he never makes such claims.

As Bob Franklin says in an editorial note in the same journal that the “contribution of cartoonists to journalism [is] much neglected” (Franklin, 2007, editorial note). It is true that the collection goes a little way to fill gaps in the knowledge; however the topics are largely centred on American perspectives as dictated by a conference angle in London 2005.^{xix} Seymour-Ure’s model is suitable for describing his trend tracking in the limited journal format, as are the other authors^{xx}, but it is not designed to provide an approach upon which to build an understanding political cartoons’ headline representation as a combination of artistic exaggeration and types of ‘truths’ in context. He has also returned to the United States for topical inspiration. One can argue that cartoons are yet again relegated to a sideshow and exposes weaknesses in a lack of historical comparison from earlier periods. Art historical literature on cartoons provides insights into how this problem may be approached and overcome.

Art historical interpretations of cartoons tend to be either general surveys or detailed studies of subjects deemed to be fine art or else critics of that art. Authors like Sharon Fermor (1996) and Werner Hoffman (1957) write about old master cartoons - Leonardo da Vinci’s in the latter case - not the political type but as a study on under drawings for a fresco, tapestry, stained-glass or oil painting. Hugh Honour & John Fleming (1997), Gombrich (1998) in their excellent art historical surveys focus more generally on cartoons as part of the craft process. Richard Griffiths (1980) expands on the printmaking process itself but does concentrate on fine art reproduction styles and techniques rather than on the topic. Ralph Shikes’ (1969) work on the artist as a social critic in prints brings the scholar closer to an appreciation of cartoons as comment, but still does not provide a definition of a political cartoon as a finished piece of work in its own right.

Mark A Cheetham, Michael Ann Holly & Keith Moxey, in their search for the *shape* of art history, challenge the historical *status quo* about what is worthy of selection and analysis on several fronts. However they say nothing about political cartoons or the Boer war, though presumably their collection of writings allows for a freer flow of ideas that may inform an historian about the intellectual practice. Cheetham *et al.*'s book *The Subjects of Art History*, is concerned with the prospect that "art history, like many other fields in the humanities, has entered a post-epistemological age" (Cheetham *et al.*, 2009, p.2). The three editors write position papers "outlining, respectively, their concern for the (Kantian) philosophical imperatives of/in art history, and how the specters [*sic*] of context haunt the writing of the history of art, and the historiography of art history as Hegelian" (*ibid.*, p.1). They support the notion that "in many quarters it is acknowledged that history is not about the truth, that there is no way in which contemporary understanding can come to grips with events of the past" (*ibid.*, p.2). Thus the authors state that *The Subjects of Art History*:

"was an attempt, from within of art historical analysis, to picture that area of inquiry in an expanded field that we may continue to call art history or might be more usefully designated as visual studies. The dialogue in this issue of the journal of visual culture is an opportunity to continue that conversation. Specifically, it is a chance to rethink the question of the place of both 'aesthetics' and 'history' in and through visual studies." (*ibid.*, p.3)

They state that "because the subjects and objects of the discipline are in constant flux" due to pressures from other fields of study, that art history cannot stand alone (Cheetham *et al.*, 2009, p.3). However, they do not offer a comprehensive theoretical scope for interpreting historical images, but provide a collection of fresh insights promised from previous work.

In an earlier article the authors state that "overall, their collection was a chance to reassess the role that the philosophies of history of Kant and Hegel and other philosophical, semiotic, queer, postcolonial, psychoanalytic and museological traditions concerned with

‘history’ have played, and continue to play, in art history’s efforts to legitimate its past and predict its future” (Cheetham, 2005, p.75). As such, they ask questions on how might visual studies readdress assumed knowledge. They ask if both critics and supporters of visual studies are correct to believe that ‘aesthetics’ has nothing to do with visual studies. They also pose the question of why might they be right, or wrong? And how does the field of visual studies offer opportunities to engage with aesthetics in new ways? They raise issues about the relevance of Kantian and Hegelian philosophical definitions history of art. They ask:

“How does visual studies affect such models of history, or what does it mean for it no longer to believe it needs History at all? Or, to put it more kindly, is there something that visual studies can teach us about Kant and Hegel and subsequent historiographical thought? By no means looking to resolve these questions, this dialogue is motivated by an urge to problematize [sic] in productive ways the accusation that visual studies does not do, care for, take into consideration, or otherwise understand ‘history’. It hopes to indicate why visual studies has to deal with history, however conceived, if for no other reason than at least (and most importantly) that it can attend necessarily to the genealogies of the study of our visual cultures.” (*ibid.*, p.75)

Looking at *Punch* and *L’Assiette*’s cartoons opens several lines of enquiry about art historical appreciation of works traditionally seen as not belonging to fine art. Both artists faced opposition from the establishment. The Royal Academy did not allow black and white drawings into the Exhibitions. Cartoons were looked down upon as a possible source of embarrassment to patrons who might be lampooned. This certainly the case as McMaster (2005) discovers in her case study of Sambourne’s various caricatures of prominent Academicians. Cartoons attached to the news industry, especially about opinionated news about the failures of Boer War generals, were not desirable (Spielmann, 1969; Price, 1957). Jean Veber faced strong criticism from the Ministry of the Interior (Goldstein 1989; Bachollet, 1980, 174 (Dec), p.14-15; 1981). Despite unfavourable attitudes toward cartoons at the time they are still drawings, so it is important to explain which analytical method is most

appropriate to analyse cartoons in context. Visual differences between *Punch* and *L'Assiette* are largely aesthetic and also due to the magazines' variant British and French artistic backgrounds.

Punch and Sambourne

Punch's accounts of the magazine's history are triumphalist but only a very little is written about Sambourne or the artistic style of his cartoons (Spielmann, 1969; Ormond, 2001) describes Sambourne's role as "a cartoonist in the art world" (Ormond, 2001, pp.5-11). Arthur Prager devotes a short chapter to the wood-engraving process and tight line drawing style (Prager, 1979). Wood engraving was expensive and a continuation of the craft of classical cartooning that was designed to be broadly educative. David Kunzle also briefly refers to the relative cheapness of other publications compared to *Punch* (Kunzle, 1985, pp.40-48). There are some studies of Linley Sambourne's life and work (Nicholson, 1992; Suleman, 2001; Simon, 2001; Ormond, 2001, an excellent biography by the same author, 2010; Popple, 2001; Roberts, 1994).

Veber and L'Assiette

In Chapter One, Veber's style in *L'Assiette* is an inheritance and continuation of the French artistic school mode. Pierre Veber writes of his brother that Jean was trained as an artist but needed to make money, so turned to drawing for Paris's satirical magazines (Veber & Lacroix, 1931). The Dixmiers write only a very little about artistic style but state an important fact that many artists worked for *L'Assiette* and chose their own subject (Dixmier & Dixmier, 1974). Others comment on Veber's colourful and bold lithographic style (Goldstein, 1989; Appelbaum, 1978; Breviot, 1951).

Visual Theory

The political cartoon is best understood as a survivor of a crafted traditional form of criticism. The most useful literature on art historical analytical methods dealing with political cartoons is Gombrich's (1956) work called 'The Cartoonist's Armoury'. In this chapter he outlines a historical survey of the development of graffiti, caricatures and political cartoons dating from classical times to just after the Second World War. In addition he refines a six-part filter model - outlined in an earlier article (Gombrich & Kris, 1938, pp.319-342) – that enables him to classify and analyse political cartoons as critically distinct from other art forms portraying historical events. In noting the particular characteristics of such images he enables the scholar to apply quantitative and qualitative values onto cartoons. Thus images as primary sources can provide scales of equivalence in reading, for example, a range of opinions from mild to extreme about any given topic covered in this manner.

Others have attempted to construct methodological frameworks in which to place and understand satirical images as seen in Chapter Four. Stephanie Kelley-Romano & Victoria Westgate (2007, pp.755-773) follow such a course in their analysis of President George W Bush's perceived culpability for the plight of New Orleans' residents post Hurricane Katrina in 2005. In a tiny methodology section they use Medhurst and DeSousa's six elements of graphic style that comprises 'use of line and form, exaggeration of physiognomical features, placement within the frame, relative size of objects, relation of text to visual imagery, and rhythmic montage' (Medhurst & DeSousa, 1981, p.236 in Kelley-Romano & Westgate, 2007, p.758). The model does not work very effectively for political cartoons as Medhurst & DeSousa concentrate more on placement and sequential factors in a newspaper format using photographs as well as drawings. Analysing a single political cartoon requires a refined coding system - Gombrich's six filters - and an appreciation of press history and a grasp of the cartoon's

historical context. Medhurst & DeSousa in their article 'Political Cartoons as Rhetorical Reform: a taxonomy of graphic discourse' cannot provide such a system for the single frame (Medhurst & DeSousa, 1981, pp.197-236).

Whilst scholarly attention has centered mostly on the examination of written or verbal discourse (Cotter, 2010, *inter alia*), visual news discourse has remained relatively unexamined (Hall, 1973, 1977, 1988; Banks, 1994; Kress & van Leeuwen, 1998; Huxford, 2001, pp.45-71). Journalism linguist Cotter provides a possible model about the 'news process and its components' as 'characterised according to its discourse-level features' (Cotter. 2010, p.54). She analyses news values attached to features endemic to the making of a story: the tip, the gathering of facts, editing, writing and the story's placement on the page. While this might be an interesting model to follow with reference to cartoon analysis in context, it is certainly not yet designed for this subject matter- more is discussed in the Methodology chapter - and could be the subject of further study.

Van Leeuwen & Jewitt's (2000) book covers a broad range of methodological approaches to visual analysis. They examine sociological, anthropological, semiotic perspectives to visual culture as part of cultural studies. Stuart Hall (1999) explores the three central aspects of the study of visual culture: the sign, the institution and the viewing subject. In Chapter Four, neither Hall nor van Leeuwen say anything about applying their methodologies to cartoons. However the methodology chapter will cover how some scholars have ways of helping a cartoon reader to see certain perspectives. These are aspects of visual analysis that can be used to explain certain theories, such as semiotics, even if they don't specifically mention political cartoons. The symbolic referends of Sambourne and Veber's political cartoons are set within the academic areas of journalism, history and art history; it is this last category of analysis that links the cartoon's overt meaning with its cultural context as an expression of political opinion of a news story.

In Chapter Four, art historians have problems with understanding signs and signifiers in art and culture: primarily the art historian is looking for patterns and consistency of interpretation. Kris and Gombrich and Wölfflin circumvent the hazards of image interpretation using art historical taxonomic systems appropriate for the analysis of Sambourne and Veber's work (Kris & Gombrich, 1938, pp.319-342; Gombrich, 1956; Wölfflin, 1958). British and French fin-de-siècle political cartoons require relevant historical frames of reference. Although the analyst may understand the general rules of representation, for example the natural metaphor light/dark stands for good/evil in Gombrich's work; it is the historical context that brings a semblance of truth to the story being told. In semiotics, the extremes of this debate on the use of such systems are not especially useful for an examination of political cartoons where the subject could 'disappear' (Barthes, 1977, p.10).

Thus, political cartoons are best interpreted in association with their own historical and national frameworks. But this is challenged in 'Against Interpretation' (Sontag, 1966) when Sontag notes the apparent belief in the Western world that art needs interpretation, she further suggests the content of a work became divorced from its form. This divorce may be a by-product of appreciation of high art but in cartooning the comment and divorce is explicit and exploited by the political cartoonist to achieve a successful result: the impact. Contexts are recognised by cartoonists and subverted; however they are always within their own contextual frame. Derrida and Barthes are primarily concerned with semantics; in the analysis of political cartoons it is essential to grasp the verbal and visual semiotic and general context at the same time to comprehend the impact of the cartoon. However, neither Hall, nor Kristeva approach images or their possible historical significance in their analyses. Gramsci offers the scholar a better theoretical grasp of journalistic material than semiotic exegesis as it is considered a reaction to and from cultural and historical hegemony, often more extreme in war.

There is a potential problem of speculation when considering cartoons as primary evidence conveying certain points of view. Greenberg (2008) states in his article on cartoons about Canadian immigrants in the news:

“as a primarily textualist analysis of cartoon discourse, the approach to visual discourse undertaken may be seen as overly speculative, that is, offering no grounded views on what audience responses to such discourse would actually be. Whilst research into audience reception of these cartoons would no doubt strengthen the analysis, it is by no means a requisite stage through which all discourse analysis must proceed.” (Greenberg, 2008, p.181)

He posits that:

“a broader research agenda examining lay opinions about war and the construction of political problems generally needs to explore not just symbolic and metaphorical representation, which has been left largely unexplored by scholars but is attempted here (Lupton and Tulloch, 1999, 50 (3): 507-23), but also the micro-contextual contexts in which opinions about prisoner issues are generated and experienced by newspaper and satirical magazine readers.” (*ibid*, p.190)

He is correct to identify gaps in social appreciation of the prisoner's status but ignores the importance of grounding them in cartoons as historical analysis of views about a country's power structures, especially in times of war. In addition, it may be suggested that the cartoons discussed in Greenberg's work have been misinterpreted altogether. Visual satirical journalism in democratic countries is most often aimed toward the decision making of government officials and so a political cartoon that targets the official state apparatus is normally carried out as a “friendly gesture to ensure democracy lives up to its own ideals” (Morris, 1992, p.153; Press, 1981). This having been said, there should be little disagreement over the general understanding that cartoons depicting the horrors of war and foreign policies should be classified as ‘not normal’ (there may be need for change) and they attribute direct blame for the ensuing chaos to the government and, if less directly, to the Boers themselves. Also, the attachment of meaning to the actions and opinions of the characters in each cartoon depends on

a ‘cultural familiarity’ (Morris, 1991, p.249-50) and awareness of current events that is assumed by both the artist and analyst.

Should we apply Greenberg’s view to the Boer War cartoons, he would say that the reader, who is sensitized by an awareness of Britain’s historic maltreatment of Boer claims against the Uitlander settlers, possibly will reach entirely different conclusions about the meanings of these cartoons than a person with no such understanding of British historical involvement in South Africa. However, there is a risk of removing important and mature historical reflections on that war. In short, an appraisal of the war by Greenbergian contemporary mass news standards has a very limited shelf life in context of understanding either cartoonists, or the audience/readership, the state’s promotion of its own interests, or the subject matter. To be fair, Greenberg is attempting to tackle news issues in very close conjunction to the happening of events themselves in an article format, rather than constructing a working model by which cartoons about long-past events may be understood and appreciated in context. However, his view suggests that his contemporary political cartoonists will construct their accounts of mass ‘news’ against a backdrop of *assumptions* about the historical world, assumptions they expect to share with an implied readership community. Though they do reach out to ‘imagined communities’ (Anderson, 1992; 2006) illustrations, on the other hand, do not function as motivational pieces of work in their own right: they are secondary to the text. Cartoons are the text in visual form.

Thus, Greenberg, Hall (1999), and Seymour-Ure *inter alia* sum up whether they cover topics about swingeing government policy, inept leaders or pitiful prisoners, “satirical cartoonists shape the form and content of their accounts with a particular understanding about who their readers are and what they will find interesting, informative and humorous”

(Greenberg, 2008, p.196). But they do not go far enough to set the cartoons in context, nor does Greenberg analyse visual aspects in detail; here Gombrich's filters might have served him well. However, in more extensive studies about cartoons and conflict, in order to avoid accusations of speculation, it is essential to frame the political cartoon in its proper context. Cartoons about war are very well suited by Gramsci's hegemonic perspective as they are inevitably concerned with the struggle for power, and are complemented exceptionally well with Gombrich's pictorial analysis in reading levels of extreme or subtle meaning; and thus an editorial message is conveyed the reader.

Seymour-Ure's work shows more coverage of cartoons than Greenberg but again set only in the context of mass media and post 1960, therefore subject to cultural differences of perspective. The topics of his studies are mainly concerned with political power struggles of one sort or another and perhaps a more in-depth examination of cartoons in these kinds of context might benefit from the use of a theoretical and methodological model. Some visual theories, such as those of Barthes, Kristeva, and van Leeuwen *inter alia*, do not serve the political cartoon in a complete and satisfying way to explain context. Semiotic analysis applied to cartoons produces especially mystifying results as to all intents and purposes the image is detached from its historical moorings by the processes Barthes and Kristeva outline.

Research on modernism and hegemony (Lunn, 1984; Gordon & Radway, 2008; Lash, 2007) offers perspectives about extremes in warfare. Gramsci offers the scholar an appropriate theoretical grasp of journalistic material as it is considered a reaction to cultural and historical hegemony, often more extreme in war. Lunn, having outlined 4 aspects of modernism in *Marxism and Modernism*, explores it as a phenomenon under the influence of a variety of variables as a series "multiple revolts against traditional realism and romanticism" (Lunn, 1984, p.34). Lash (2007, pp.55-78) develops further arguments about 'power after hegemony', and thus signals that some academics are in conflict about defining the shift in power structures

from epistemological to ontological regimes, from one that “rests on a faith in the reality effects of social science” (Gordon & Radway, 2008, p.10) to one that negates leaders’ monopoly. The very notion of ‘power after hegemony’ makes little sense in terms of analyzing war cartoons and thus marks a watershed over which a flow of ideas cannot travel either way. What significance do these ideas bring to bear on political cartoons about the Boer War? The answer is that they only explore concepts about possible worlds rather than analyzing contemporary reactions to specific events.

Thus this chapter perhaps goes a little way to explain that the idea of nation as a construct is bound deeply with concepts of ethnicity, borderlines and racial identity affiliated to a particular area as described by several scholars (Wirth, 1936, pp.723-37; Hallett Carr, 1945; Hayes, 1954; Kohn, 1944, 1967; Deutsch, 1966; Hobsbawm 1983, 2006). But cartoon headline representations may give only a clue to this intense world of ‘identities’. However, there are subtler readings to be discerned from bold promotion of ideals. For a government, identification with a particular nationality is important to understand the promotion of one nation over others for various reasons, economic and political (Cole, 1971, pp.160-182; McGowan & Kordan, 1981, pp.43-68; Calhoun, 1993, (19), pp.211-239). In the case of war, a strong sense of national identity is of crucial importance in galvanising and maintaining support of the status quo within that nation and in the projection of its image to other nations that may or may not support its policies (Chatterjee, 1995). This chapter does not seek to cover comprehensively the history of nationhood, affiliation with state-power or resistance against it in the press (Anderson, 2006), but to review Sambourne and Veber's work in the light of scholarship on nationalism, patriotism and imperialism in context with British and French press reaction to foreign policy (Chamberlain, 1988).

The following chapters explore an appreciation of scholarly aspects of satire, art, gender, nationalism and symbolism as applied to the Boer War. These perspectives are used to

demonstrate the variety of Sambourne and Veber's headline representation of the Boer War combining artistic exaggeration and versions of reported 'truths' that may supply lines of enquiry cast across a broad academic range. The two magazines are continuities of a traditional form but are set in the more general terms of the history of journalism as attached to the development of technology. Thus, the study of journalism lies within the history of communication; not just as journalism history of the nineteenth century, but also as part of an evolving system that generates continuing Boer War enquiries well into the twenty-first century.

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CHAPTER FOUR - Reflections on Methodology: *Punch* and *L'Assiette au Beurre*'s 1898-1902 Boer War Editorial Cartoons as Conveyors of Extremes of Opinion.

“A political cartoon is worth looking at just because it is enjoyable to stick pins into fools and villains or to watch others do it.” (Charles Press, 1981, p.11)

Most political cartoons “are designed to influence viewers with regard to specific political events of the day” (Press, 1981, p.14). Political cartoons usually appear on the editorial page of a newspaper or magazine. Some appear as the whole editorial content. What each cartoon does is convey an extreme journalistic slant, hegemonic or counter-hegemonic to the regime. In context, the political cartoon represents an expression of a news story telescoped onto characters and events.

On the 28th February 1901, talks failed to gain mutual terms of peace at the Treaty of Middleburg after an eighteen-day ‘invasion’ of the Cape Colony by the Boer General Christiaan De Wet. A hardline rebel, De Wet’s third raid from the Transvaal across British lines frustrated Kitchener’s command and toughened the resolve of Boer fighters never to give in. Analysis of the cartoons shows cartoonists use a set of extreme symbols to condense an image and idea about a person or event that results in single ‘pregnant’ image. A cartoon only can be read by analysing the types of extreme conflation in a three-part approach that places the subject within the journalistic academy (See Plates 25 and 26).

A Three-Level Methodological Approach

1. Cartoons need to be assessed historically to place them in context. They represent a critical version of the truth.

2. They need to be analysed in an art-historical manner, as cartoons are a set of visual symbols that carry specific meanings layered on top of stories. In this thesis Gombrich's particular symbology is based on interpreting varieties of commentary and strength of feeling about events and people involved in the Boer War. The images are decoded using Gombrich's six-point filter in order to identify the cartoonist's method of conveying and compressing extreme messages about people and events.
3. They are appreciated through Gramsci's theory of hegemony as applied to journalism history. The cartoons represent an organ's editorial leaning toward an often-extreme political viewpoint as part of the drive for increased sales.

The three-part approach comprises an appreciation of the primary source within journalism history, cartoon art history and political context. The publication's politics are reflected in the telescoping of exaggerated opinions to convey a political message – an effective way to transmit a message to the readership.

Drawn from the *Prison Notebooks* (1991,1996 transl.), Gramsci's work on hegemony and journalism allows us to look at the media from a cultural perspective, that journalism reflects issues determined by the hegemonic *status quo* in retaining power. Political cartoons, as part of the media structure in the state, mimic editorial opinion more or less. They reflect the state in two ways: by supporting or criticising the policies of the elected dominant elite.

“Gramsci's popularity outside of Italy has rested on the argument attributed to him that the predominant form of power in western capitalist states has been that which emanates from institutions that generate consent rather than coercion: namely, the media, the education system and other so-called private bodies in civil society.” (Martin, 1998, p.114)

From this perspective, Gramsci's work is too be seen as an advocate of the media's responsibility to inform the worker of events without the then (as he saw it) media's

propensity to inflict a ‘bourgeois’ point of view. He posits that:

“A study of the ideological structure [is represented by] its most prominent and dynamic part ... the press in general: publishing houses (which have an implicit and explicit programme and are attached to a particular tendency), political newspapers, periodicals of every kind, specific, literary, philological, popular, etc., various periodicals down to the parish bulletins. A news editor of a daily newspaper should have this study as a general outline of his work: indeed, he should make his own version of it.” (Gramsci Q3§49, in Forgacs, (ed.) 2000, p.380)

Thus, Gramsci sets up an idea that such publications should reflect their “living historical Model” that puts into political context their stories’ “more cautious and exact estimate of the forces acting in society” (*ibid.*, p.381). Martin agrees with Gramsci on how hegemony allows the state to be envisioned as a whole:

“The incorporation of hegemony into the analysis of class political domination made it possible to see the state, not as a direct epiphenomenon of the economic structure, but as an integral part of a bourgeois domination in capitalism.” (Martin, 1998, p. 121)

Political Context of Media & Cartoons

Historians Thomas Pakenham and Kenneth O Morgan agree that the “striking feature of the role of the press during the Boer War [was] the unusual degree of interaction between the newspapers and the main participants” (Morgan, 2002, pp.6-7). Lord Roberts talked freely to the right-wing Reuters’ correspondent H A Gwynne, and allowed journalists free rein, slating *The Manchester Guardian* as ‘very rotten’: a clear sign of his political leanings (Pakenham, 2004, pp.32-34). Lord Milner and Colonel Robert Baden-Powell’s ‘media-conscious’ relationship wasn’t so easy, but the briefings continued. On his arrival in November 1900, General Kitchener kept a very tight ship on correspondents’ access to certain areas – his briefings were hard and clinical as the war reached a peak of activity toward its close.

Newspapers carried images and accounts of the main actors' characteristics and activities around the world. The press reacted in accordance to their respective editorial slant. It was these that inspired Sambourne and Veber to draw the chief actors and telescope political interpretations in extreme forms for their magazine. The political context is of course much wider than this brief summary, however the necessary historical context is provided throughout the data analysis. The next part describes the nature of a political cartoon and how they are interpreted as exaggerated comment.

What Is a Cartoon?

Press's survey on political cartoons notes British and French antecedents, but later he focuses mainly on American cartoons - but not from a journalistic angle. Press asserts that there are three elements ascribed to political cartoons. They are: 1) *A picture of reality* (they must present the essence of the truth), 2) They must contain a *message* (what the critic recommends might be done on behalf of the deserving/undeserving), and 3) The artist must *create a mood*, for example through artistic technique and allegory, the cartoonist tells us how we should *feel* about what is happening (Press, 1981, p.62). Press, in asserting that cartoons are a picture of reality, sets up a whole range of problems: practical, psychological and philosophical. Cartoons are not reality but a semblance of it: they are neither the situation nor the essence of the truth as a logical construct.

In 1969, theorist Coupe described three types of cartoons and their connection to intentional provocation of mood. The images are either descriptive (politically useless), laughing satirical or destructive satirical. It is obvious that Sambourne and Veber's cartoons contain aspects of all three, but with Veber's largely favouring the destructive view. Press wants to add a fourth type - that which glorifies – however this is not particularly useful to cartoon typology. A simple propagandic image may well be classified as descriptive, laughing

or destructive. Coupe describes the cartoonist as a journalist who is “concerned with the creation and manipulation of public opinion” and who – commonly – “gravitated to newspapers which roughly corresponded to their own outlook and there more or less toed the editorial line” (Coupe, 1969, p.82). Does this view deal comprehensively with Sambourne and Veber’s politics and style in *Punch* and *L’Assiette*? Not quite. Though each artist invested their work with a full use of tools to disseminate their type of criticism of events under the aegis of their respective publication, there are other issues to consider. The choice of and the manner by which they executed their subject matter were determined by different organisational factors. The editorial board conferred Sambourne’s full range of topics upon him. Veber was invited to select and expound on his own single crusade:

“The cartoonist has a special advantage among the babbling array of critics. They can sugarcoat their messages by stuffing them into a little allegorical drama, so that if they are skilful, their points slide down easily, and don’t get stuck in the craw as the printed word sometimes does.” (Press, 1981, p.52)

Some scholars, arguing a case for the sociological import of political cartoons, converge upon the methodological schema developed by Raymond Morris’s sociology of visual rhetoric (1989; 1991; 1992a; 1992b; 1993; 1995). Morris contends that cartoons capture the endless dual oppositions that coordinate social representations about the world and provide, as it were, a ‘cognitive map’ for understanding everyday life. According to Morris (1993, pp. 198-99), cartoons establish social goals and devise the division of labour needed to attain these in four specific ways by:

1. Establishing the source of the cartoon (i.e., artist, newspaper) as an authority or expert in relation to the event or problem in question and identifying, locating and labelling certain ‘other’ elements as ‘troublesome’ (Morris, 1993, pp.198-99).

2. Constructing a specific frame and setting an agenda that will “create or excite interest in a problem, generate a sense of intellectual crisis, identify the nature of the crisis, pinpoint its symptoms, and propose a course of action as the effective remedy” (*ibid.*, pp.198-99).
3. Constructing a normative agenda against which newsreaders may evaluate the cartoon's characters in moral terms. (*ibid.*, pp.198-99).
4. Promoting the “desire for action” by ensuring that the preferred message resonates with the lived experiences of the audience (*ibid.*, pp.198-99).

Morris (*ibid.*, pp.199-202) also argues that four rhetorical devices will affect the contents, intended meanings and negotiated meanings of political cartoons. Firstly, “condensation involves the compression of disconnected or complex related events to a common, singular frame” (*ibid.*, pp.199-202). Secondly, “combination involves the construction and organization of various elements or ideas from different domains with numerous and perhaps conflicting meanings” (*ibid.*, pp.199-202). Thirdly, “opposition is a process whereby the complexity of a problem or event is reduced to a binary struggle” (*ibid.*, pp.199-202). And fourthly, “domestication [see also Goffman 1979] occurs when distant events remote from the everyday experience(s) of the reader are translated into concrete happenings that can be experienced as close and familiar” (*ibid.*, pp.199-202).

To enrich Morris's schema, it is instructive to consider the ways in which visual discourse of the world transfers meaning and causal blame along a referential chain of signifiers within a particular image. Thus Greenberg proposes an additional analytic device: the notion of ‘transference’ (2008, 39 (2), pp.181-198). Transference usually functions in an implicit way that releases the cartoon's characters of their absurd actions or commentary by displacing blame to another, normally non-visible, actor. The notion of “transference fits neatly

within the rhetorical framework of opinion discourse in that it not only evaluates social phenomena and social process, but it also explains these events in ways that have first and foremost to do with the allocation of blame and attribution of responsibility” (*ibid.*, 39 (2), pp.181-198). One final caveat is worth mentioning here, which is that when performing empirical analysis, each of these processes - condensation, combination, opposition, domestication and transference - should not be treated independently but, rather, as strategies of “meaning-making” that operate within a broader “repertoire of cultural evaluation” (Lamont & Thévenot, 2000).

How do other systems create or deconstruct meaning? Linguistic scholar Cotter (2010) seeks to examine the conventions of story construction and placement in the discourse-level features (her emphasis) of a paper’s news values, they do not deal with images but focus on the process of textual manipulation. However, it is striking that there are certain parallels in the conception and creation of political material that may reflect a publication’s general view of people and events. An obvious problem is one of dualist categorisation of both images and cartoonists as simply representative of one point of view. The analyst may have to decide whether a cartoonist is independent or not in order to take a limited positional view about any given circumstance. For instance, if Jean Veber or his work were to be considered as that of an auteur only certain aspects of that assumption may be correct. The evidence shows that while he was free to choose his subject matter, the publication for which he drew his collection espoused a certain antagonist slant. On the other hand, Linley Sambourne’s work for *Punch* is that of the conventional press room hierarchy – he was given his subject at the weekly meeting, the titles and captions suggested and written by the literary team, and the whole assembled away from any control he might have wanted to exert. However, questions still remain about the nature of his ‘dependence’. In the cartoons themselves he preferred to sign his full name in direct opposition to the board’s wishes who preferred that he adopt an intertwined LS moniker

like his predecessor Tenniel. The nature of cartoons by both artists themselves defies easy categorisation – some of King Edward VII, his Government and Army are intentionally insulting, whether they be a mild reproach or a stinging rebuke – see my later referenced De Wet and ‘John Bull’ cartoons. Though linguistic analysis may help to explain conventions of language, it will not explain how or why these images operate as uniquely efficient communicators within or without their publications.^{xxi}

Gramsci’s view of periodicals dictates that the story (or sign system [image] in this thesis) must be taken in ‘historical’ context and preferably not invested with too much of a slant conveyed to the reader (the working man) without needing to refer to ‘the “traditional intellectual bloc”, (the ‘old class of intellectuals’) to assimilate the “apprenticeship in logic”’ (Gramsci Q16§21, in Forgacs (ed.) 2000, p.377). Indeed, the nature of this comparative discussion about the image necessitates an appreciation of the differences in each publication’s generation of its cartoons. Then, for the reader of cartoons, it is of paramount importance that the image is bold enough in order to convey to the reader both its historic basis and its editorial slant.

“For a critical and comprehensive treatment of the subject, it seems more opportune (for methodological and didactic purposes) to presupposes another situation: that there exists, as the starting point, a more or less homogeneous cultural grouping (in the broad sense) of a given type, of a given level and especially with a given orientation; and that one wants to use such a grouping to contrast a self-sufficient, complete cultural edifice, by beginning directly from ... language, from the means of expression and reciprocal contact.” (Gramsci Q24§1, in Forgacs, 2000, p.383)

For Gramsci, the appeal towards a press in a homogeneous society places demands on the reader, especially when appreciating the finer points analysing the culture of the press and its stories. Martin acknowledges Gramsci’s “interest in ‘common sense’ and ‘folklore’ revealed a rare depth of sympathy for the lived experience by subordinate classes of their conditions of

domination” (Martin, 1998, p.123). Furthermore, Gramsci says of the reader of newspapers that they must “always, always, always remember that the bourgeois newspaper (what ever its hue) is an instrument of struggle motivated by ideas and interests that are contrary to his” (Gramsci, 1916: December 22). The analyst should undertake a delicate process of understanding both the institution (historical, political and civil) and the position of Gramsci’s reader in order to find the identity of the story being discussed.

“Finding the real identity beneath the apparent contradiction and differentiation, and finding the substantial diversity beneath the apparent identity, is the most delicate, misunderstood and yet essential endowment of the critic of ideas and the historian of historical developments.” (Gramsci Q24§3, in Forgacs, 2000, p.389)

Therefore, the analyst of political cartoons must also follow Gramsci’s initial advice, and take into consideration the context and history of the images displayed in such publications as *Punch* and *L’Assiette*, in order to determine the similarities and differences therein, and whether they be conservative or socialist, either subtle or savage in their nature, and using few or many items in the constructs to convey their message across to the reader.

Quantitative Analysis

What is it about cartoon construct as a meta-language that resonates with a certain type of meaning as a sustained comment on the Boer War? Cartoons’ form and function are measured quantitatively in order to gauge frequency and repetition of themes and devices used in each set of cartoons. Themes and devices’ commonness of occurrence can be compared to each other in terms of gauging, for example, images of power or weakness. In addition, rarities can be notable by their unique appearance and these uncommon indicators are counted and analysed. In addition a count of Gombrich’s six filters used in each cartoon serves to underscore repetitive comment on warlike messages – more of this later in the chapter. Measuring the frequencies and repetitions allows the scholar to deduce and discern comparative similarities

and differences in the Boer War cartoons of two publications. In this and following chapters quantitative material is used to support the data analysis, especially in terms of thematic comparisons. Each chapter's argument provides the angle against which cartoons' raw data is measured, processed and analysed in comparison with each other as groups of images.

Table One on page 261 shows the repetition and frequency of devices used within the cartoons and expressed in comparative figures in the third row. Veber in *L'Assiette* demonstrates a predilection for excessive numbers of figures, particularly males, whereas *Punch*'s figures are less dramatically varied as Sambourne is not so concerned about conveying coarse and hostile criticism. A comparison between Sambourne and Veber's work on news and opinion is quantifiable in the following two examples about events at home in London and Paris.

Sambourne's version [Plate 27] of the Minister for War's rejection of two thousand Canadian cavalry relies on fine hints and layers of figures of speech, condensation and comparison and political caricature. Compared to Veber's 'Le baiser stérile' [Plate 28], it is a relatively complex image, requiring an urbane understanding of the political situation set within a well appointed office. Veber's image is a simple affair reporting the meeting of the Tsar and King Edward VII in a composition that appeals to baser instincts using a combination of power of contrast, political caricature and political bestiary to convey his disgust. He intends to shock the viewer with this image of two Kings almost kissing on the lips. In numeric terms, Sambourne and Veber's cartoons each make use of fifty per cent of available tools but Sambourne elects to play safe where as Veber opts for more brutal shock tactics.

Art Historical Analysis - Ernst Gombrich & Ernst Kris

Gombrich and Kris, respectively an art historian and a psychologist, interpreted art history through psychological methods, combining variety and theory in the production of

artefacts. Gombrich was a cultural art historian, who used evidence from all parts of culture whilst focusing on objects of high culture. His work is mainly content-based; this is useful for cultural understanding of the object under consideration. However his theories tend to ignore form, how the object is made, in other types of art and are therefore open to all kinds of interpretation, both right and wrong. But, in analysing the appeal of popular cartoons, he is successful in explaining how general constructions function.

For Gombrich & Kris, the cartoon was a psychological act of creation – of imagination. In a paper *The Principles of Caricature*, the pair set out what caricature is and how it operates as a system of apprehending meaning. Using a combination of symbols representing infantile pleasure and political message, Gombrich & Kris define “caricature as a process where – under the influence of aggression - primitive structures are used to ridicule the victim” (Gombrich & Kris, 1938, p.338). Underpinning their work lies the premise that ‘caricature is a psychological mechanism rather than a form of art’ (*ibid.*, p.338). In the case of the sample offered here, the entire structure of cartooning at this stage is the product of journalism that inspires strong feeling. “Psychology has taught us to see as a unit a phenomenon which history can only describe in parts’ the invention of caricature as an organic link in the chain of development [of understanding such images in context]” (*ibid.*, p.338). In considering this statement, we can ask a question – how does this development affect an understanding of extremes in political cartooning? Gombrich’s later work offers an explanation of his rationale.

Gombrich’s chapter ‘The Cartoonist’s Armoury’, in his *Meditations on a Hobby Horse* (1956), develops further his idea of viewing the political cartoon as a social weapon understood to be rooted in psychological terminology. He lays out six filters. In the analysis of the cartoons’ pictorial elements, a combination of theoretical and historical methods is brought into play to assess the impact of images as carriers of telescoped extreme editorial opinion. The method allows cartoons to act as devices whereby certain images indicate difficulties in

presenting changing perceptions of covering Boer War issues in the news in 1901. Gombrich's theoretical analysis (1956, pp.127-142), based on his six point-filter system of pictorial categories, involves a study of aspects of physiognomy that relate to Platonic philosophical tradition [that these are copies of a notional ideal]. Ultimately, Gombrich's filter system remains the standard for the *cognitive* analysis of political cartoons.

The Six Filters

They are as follows:

1. *Figures of Speech*. These represent the conceptual and representative nature of cartoonists' work represented on paper. There are strengths and dangers, Gombrich asserts; studying cartoons reveals transparencies in the role and power of mythological imagination in our political thoughts and decisions. Metaphors of speech tend toward a freedom to translate symbols into hardened metaphors, such as 'iron curtain', that are all tools for the cartoonist (Gombrich, 1956, pp.127-30).

2. *Condensation and Comparison*. The telescoping of ideas into one pregnant image represents the wit, claims Freud. Compression of ideas tends toward the fusion of disparate concepts; this can result in strange, sometimes funny images (*ibid.*, pp.130-132).

3. *Portrait Caricature*. At the start of political caricaturing in the sixteenth century, the aim of these works was to provide a topic of conversation between fellow wealthy persons of power. (*ibid.*, pp.132-136) "Caricature has its strongest effect in reduction" (Gombrich & Kris, 1938, p.324), a rule adhered to today in the cartoons of Peter Brooks of *The Times* and Steve Bell of *The Guardian inter alia*. Will this effect develop a theory that the political caricature may lead toward an elliptical expression? For example, a cartoon may rely on its symbolism to describe what is NOT there, for example a conceptual characteristic of that individual that is not actually present in the cartoon may add to the humour or the 'joke' of the piece. Or more

obviously, one can see the literal absence; the ‘what is missing here’ game. For example, the 1980s satirical TV programme *Spitting Image*’s eternal pursuit for President Reagan’s missing brain was not just a dig at the tragedy of the effects of Alzheimer’s Disease, but also a comment of the ‘brainless’ Reagan administration of its 1980s ‘Star Wars’ missile defence programme.

4. *The Political Bestiary*. As above but with mythological cautionary tales added, such as those of Aesop and La Fontaine. Gombrich writes: “Allusions to these stories are indeed common coinage in all languages” (Gombrich, 1956, p.136). Thus two elements are crucial to the portrayal of the political bestiary; the topical and the permanent is the key to lasting characterization, for example, Kitchener rendered as a giant toad [Plate 29].

5. *Natural Metaphors*. These essentially consisted of the elements and the contrast thereof imposed upon the cartoon to signify deep schisms or alliances. For example, light is commonly allied to good and dark to evil. “The transition of the notion [of light] from religious to political symbolism is quite natural” (*ibid.*, p.138). Sambourne’s ‘Cease Fire!’ [Plate 30] is a good example to use in this instance, the light of good news radiates from ‘Peace’ against the black war torn land, punctuated by deeply shadowed crows feasting on a corpse.

6. *The Power of Contrast*. In cartooning contrast is a powerful medium of expression, particularly in terms of size; for example, giants and pygmies are used often as a trait of ridicule. [One example of extreme contrast in literature is Jonathan Swift’s *Gulliver’s Travels*]. The cartoonist can make or break illusions; beneath the symbolism ‘he can inflate his subject to a specious life of its own or deflate it with the contrasting rhetoric of the realities it describes’ (*ibid.*, p.142). Veber’s ‘Le Foudre de Guerre’ shows fat-faced Edward VII as an enormous wine barrel squashing the tiny people supporting him.

Seemingly incongruous placement of figures in odd situations in cartoons also transmits messages to the audience. Gombrich’s study of cartoons is heavily invested with Freudian

psychological perspectives; his approach is appropriate in the appreciation of extremes in cartoons. Gombrich's view augments the perspectives offered when analysing cartoons in the context of the history of journalism. How does this schema operate in relation to Sambourne and Veber's Boer War cartoons?

In order to apply the three-part model using Gramsci and Gombrich's perspectives to analyse cartoons in certain political contexts, it is useful to return to the pair of images shown at the chapter's beginning, where Plates 25 and 26 are shown as cartoons A and B (page 229 in Appendix A). First, in terms of journalism history, a Gramscian view demonstrates that Cartoon A supports a hegemonic slant in that the image transmits disappointment in the Boer's brutishness in refusing British offers of peace. Cartoon B is a counter-hegemonic display of raw anger and shows de Wet as a mythologised hero. Secondly, Gombrich's filters are present in each of the images but not all the same ones; these produce various effects. Cartoon A presents elements of condensation and comparison of a national type and also a personification of Peace. The natural metaphors of light as good and dark as evil are plain to observe in the two figures' shading. The element of the power of contrast is set up by the juxtaposition of the slight female figure that is being attacked by the powerful Boer. Cartoon B is composed using five of the six filters; in the condensation/comparison of the personification of 'Hope'; the use of de Wet as portrait caricature; the Transvaal's fiery landscape shown as a natural metaphor of evil; the appropriation of political bestiary using a winged horse; and the power of contrast showing a comparison of the text's jeering message about mad Boer resistance fighters compared to the power of the soaring figure in the image. Thirdly, the political context of each image places each cartoon as representing a certain, exaggerated headlining viewpoint about the war. Linley Sambourne's image for *Punch* - Cartoon A – demonstrates the magazine's Right Wing Imperialist leanings that largely supported the British Government's South African policies. Jean Veber's work for *L'Assiette* shows that organ's anti-Imperialist and Republican

viewpoint. Thus *Punch* and *L'Assiette*'s extreme pictorials reflect a telescoped set of signals that indicate the host organ's editorial slant.

Less extreme samples still indicate political bias – so how does the model work here? Two more cartoons offer more subtle interpretations about the war.

Linley Sambourne's 'Pay! Pay! Pay!' [Plate 31] supports its context that by the end of the war, the War Office had incurred a deficit of £55 million. Three out of Gombrich's six filters are evident: the war chest is a figure of speech, 'John Bull' is an example of the political bestiary as well as one of the power of contrast due to his portrayal as a small boy. The image is broadly hegemonic but it still functions as a criticism of Brodrick's War policy and the accumulated costs of finishing hostilities. The huge chest is a symbol linking home and institution; one must pay into it in order to be part of that system.

Jean Veber's manifesto detail in Plate 32 (a) shows an image of the English from *L'Assiette*'s point of view. Showing a member of the Imperial Yeomanry having the butter-dish shot out of his hands by the Boers, whose farm is alight in the distance, this image demonstrated that same disgust at British cruelty. The 'plate' is literally shot out of the soldier's hand, a euphemism that he has lost his grip and the plot. In context the manifesto's text elaborated further the magazine's pro-Boer and anti-British tendencies punning on the magazine's name:

"They had it also, the English, the assiette au beurre after having teased Le Grand Napoléon, but they have just lost the plate and butter, between their hooked fingers, and it was melted with the fire of brave Boer men. And a wonder-filled Europe could admire for a while the assiette au Boer!" (*L'Assiette au Beurre*, manifesto, April, 1901, p.1)

Here Gombrich's filters indicate two elements, one being the condensation of a national type and the other presenting the metaphor of 'butterfingers' attached to the text. Thus, using

the three-point methodological tool it is possible to appreciate fine points about *L'Assiette's* counter-hegemonic and anti-British sentiments.

The most extreme images can highlight corresponding points on extremes of national identity. Sambourne's 'Requiescat!' [Plate 33] commemorates the death of Queen Victoria on 22nd January 1901 and there is a strong telescope of 5 out of 6 Gombrich filters, political caricature is the exception. The image demonstrates an intense support for the hegemonic *status quo*. British national and political supremacy is indicated in no uncertain terms, levels of power indicated respectively by the proximity of nations to the chief mourner England.

Veber's 'Le Foudre de Guerre' [Plate 34] viciously lampoons the new King Edward VII as unfit to rule his new Empire. Five out of six Gombrich filters project Veber's disgust, excepting political bestiality. The cartoon is counter-hegemonic and also anti-Imperialist – the figure is reduced to an incontinent barrel. Thus, any cartoon with a four-out-of-six scale or more is classed as extreme.

The cartoons' differences in style and execution are due to the political, organisational and journalistic slants of each organ. Each cartoon re-presents a telescoped vision of historical events as reported in the press of 'new journalism', made more extreme by dint of the partisan politics of war. The use of cartoons in nineteenth to twentieth century newspapers and magazines is a permutation of the eighteenth century coffeehouse tradition – where readers talked about issues. *Punch* was aimed at the gentlemen's clubs and drawing rooms of middle class Britain – *L'Assiette* attracted those sympathetic to discussing radical, anti-Establishment issues. The cartoons show to the readership a quick 'sight-bite' of editorial opinion. A publication's political slant is condensed in editorial cartoons into extreme bias about the Boer War and is a way of supporting or criticising connected issues.

Quantitative analysis shows that the two magazines use certain effects to convey their points, described here in the above table in Gombrich's terms. Table Two on page 262 provides another percentage comparison of twenty-three *Punch* and twenty-two *L'Assiette* cartoons, in this instance of each magazine's use of Gombrich's six filters. The figures demonstrate an appreciable difference of approaches in portraying comment about aspects of the Boer War. While both *Punch* and *L'Assiette* rely heavily on the use of the Condensation filter at ninety-four per cent and ninety-one per cent respectively, there are marked changes in the use of other types of filter. For example, compare *Punch*'s strong use of 'Figures of Speech' at fifty-two per cent of its total to *L'Assiette*'s tiny eight-point-six per cent. The only other category demonstrating a large differential is that of the 'Power of Contrast' - note *L'Assiette*'s ninety-one per cent reliance on sharp distinctions as opposed to *Punch*'s more sedate sixty-six per cent. These figures provide the analyst with insights about each cartoonist's approach toward covering stories about the war.

It is important to apply Gramsci and Gombrich's perspectives in order to describe what political cartoons may mean in their conveyance of editorial opinion to the masses. Gramsci's theory of hegemony - the struggle of certain groups in society to ensure a kind of dominance, in ideology and governance, over other groups with their tacit assent - is an essential perspective in appreciating such cartoons as representative of conflicts in the fight for power. Political cartoons document and critique events in a mass medium that underlines the Gramscian view of shifting power tussles endemic within society. Press notes the cartoonists' special role in society; "These critics [cartoonists] not only interpret specific policies and politicians to those publics which pay attention to them, but they also project a judgement about them. A 'judgement' of whether the way status, power, and material benefits are divided is fair or not" (Press, 1981, p.51).

The idea of extreme or subtle political opinion as conveyed in telescoped messages in editorial cartoons can be as well understood as, for example, assessing the tone of any written article published in a newspaper. The sources above offer some perspectives from varying academic fields about the Boer War, journalism and historical context, but analysis of understanding political cartoons in journalistic context is not yet an especial concern. If they do mention an appreciation of cartooning it is usually outside journalism; one uses six filters of pictorial analysis; one explores the nature of political cartoons; and only one article (Coupe 1969) actually refers to cartoonists as journalists. Hence, application of the three-part methodological approach is essential in order to understand their synergy as products of intense editorial slant commenting on issues of the war.

CHAPTER FIVE - Constructing the Enemy: Nationalism, Patriotism and Imperialism in Political Cartoons on Foreign Policy

What do cartoons tell us about respective British and French policy and the concepts that surround them such as nationalism, patriotism and imperialism? In order to appreciate the way in which cartoon narratives operate as combinations of artistic enhancement of rhetorical histories, it is important to analyse how they are perceived, are positioned in time, and how cartoonists relate to their country's National and Imperial foreign policy. Political cartoons also encourage reactions to nationalism, patriotism and imperialism. Cartoons can be either subversive or propagandic and can be conveyed in clichés that further the idea of nationalism. They carry the potential to provoke feelings at politically sensitive times, such as war, that gives them an increased significance that can lead to censorship. To the historian they present evidence of how such constructs powerfully re-present opinions on nations and nationalism.

What do the images analysed in this chapter tell the reader about nationalism, patriotism and imperialism? They provide an insight into thinking at the time about foreign policy as portrayed in the press.^{xxii} Nationalism can be apposite or opposite to imperialism – France and Britain share an interest in imperialist history, though each adopted in parallel a patriotic fervour for their idealised nation, even if the symbol of that nation's government is rendered unfavourably in political cartoons. This chapter does not seek comprehensively to cover the history of nationhood, affiliation with state-power or resistance against it in the press (Anderson, 2006), but to review Sambourne and Veber's work in the light of scholarship on nationalism, patriotism and imperialism. However it is necessary to map a general description on the subject in order to appreciate academic thought of the *fin-de-siècle* mindset, and also to determine how political cartoons fit into the scholarly representation of nation and nationalism.

How do the cartoons convey support or protest for or against authority in this respect? The complex nature of this chapter determines that it be discussed in emerging themes – symbols, leaders, followers, costumes, flags and the iconography of war. The argument about how they are presented as hegemonic or counter-hegemonic is set in context of their layered commentary on foreign policy in terms of nationalism, patriotism and imperialism. Gombrich's pictorial filter system allows us to read into these images more deeply set points of view about national positions taken up in the press. The illustrations in this chapter demonstrate both sides of the Boer War controversy. They help us to understand cartoons as they promote or subvert concepts of Nationalism, Patriotism and Imperialism.

Cartoons are generally judged as most effective when they are bold and blunt – it is often only one message that is needed to point the reader in an intended direction. However, when it comes to concepts like Nationalism, Patriotism and Imperialism, the subtler cartoon can often tell us more about historical realities than the singular visual hammer blow. The cartoon as a carefully constructed political tool may contain more than one meaning in order to communicate the parent organ's several points of view about either nationalism, or patriotism, and imperialism. This can be analysed by comparing two cartoons to demonstrate how they differ in their extreme and subtle approaches towards the effect of an aspect of foreign policy, for example, Veber's 'Marianne', and Sambourne's 'Pay! Pay! Pay!'

'Marianne' and 'John Bull'

In 1848, there was no representation of the Republic; however, one was wanted and an allegory was chosen to represent it. It was decided in the form of a woman because in French, 'La République' is a feminine noun. Before 1848, there existed certain images of 'liberties' in the form of women. Wearing a Phrygian cap, in the time of the First Republic, there was

Delacroix's 'Liberty leading the People' - a half-naked woman with her cap – and another type helmeted and dressed in military uniform as seen in François Rudé's 'La Marseillaise' on L'Arc de Triomphe. The Revolution of 1848 telescoped 'Marianne' into the one figure of Liberty, the Republic and the Revolution. At the time 'Marie-Anne' was a very popular first name; according to Agulhon, it "was chosen to designate a régime that also saw itself as popular" (Agulhon, 1981, p.10).^{xxiii} On 17th March 1848, the Ministry of the Interior of the newly elected Second Republic launched a contest to design 'Marianne' in paintings, sculpture, medals, currency, and official seals. Two images of the Republic emerged.

One 'Marianne' symbolised the liberal middle class woman who was wise, and equipped with classical attributes. She wore a diadem of sun rays around her head, a transfer of the royal symbol to the Republic, and was sometimes adorned with one of many other symbols - these could be corn sheaves, ploughshares, oak leaves, vines, or the fasces of the Roman lictors – depending on the role she represented. The 'other' Marianne was more representative of active socialism and rebellion – she would be shown with a half-naked torso, wearing the Phrygian cap and a red blouse; and with her arm raised aloft.

'Marianne''s image would become the clandestine symbol of protest against The Second Empire's regime (1852-1870). In The Third Republic (1870-1940), Jean Veber's slovenly 'Marianne' of 1901 represents a rejection of perceived abuses of power by the Government [Plate 35].

Veber's symbol of France is a gross and coarse interpretation of a Nation and Empire, and certainly does not inspire a feeling of patriotism on the French Government's behalf– a masculine-looking 'Marianne' slides down a huge mound of butter with her skirt up and hose down – presumably pleasuring herself at the expense of the little figures bearing the plate. It is a bold and direct criticism of French Government and its policies as bloated and corrupt,

weighing heavily down on ordinary citizens. This cartoon would have been hugely shocking to *L'Assiette* readers who were brought up on a romanticised heroic maternal 'Marianne' whose image had always been – and still is – ubiquitous in town and country alike throughout France.

In contrast, subtler compositions carry multi-dimensional perspectives that guide the reader to examine and critique notions of empire, nation and patriotism. In caricature, Richard Godfrey asserts that in presentation, pose and language, the Victorian 'John Bull' is depicted thus: "[John Bull is] prosperous, with gleaming boots, he shakes foreigners by the scruff of the neck, rebukes malcontents, and speaks sternly to errant politicians" (Godfrey, 1984, p.21). Godfrey's observation states the role of 'John Bull' as a 'stern observer'; 'Mr Punch' too is an arbiter of correct behaviour in society whereby his view mirrors that of John Bull, the allegorical figure of the right-minded Briton exerting his influence upon the world around him. 'Mr Punch', as a rather more localised figure representing the views of the *Punch* table, played a more subtle game in which an entrenched set of opinions from the editorial team, in the form of the weekly 'big cut', pandered to the 'serious cogitation of *Punch* readers', mainly upper-middle class Londoners of a Conservative political bent (*ibid.*, p.22).

Sambourne's 'Pay! Pay! Pay!' re-presents Britain's national symbol 'John Bull' ^{xxiv} as a fat child pumping in more money to the South African War chest under the guise of 'Peace' – the war chest is decorated with missiles and surrounded by armoury. Patriotic themes of Empire and Nation abound in the display of the Union Jack flag with the Star and Stripes overhead. Underlying the overt message of support for Britain's cause is a sharper comment on the price of war. The caption below states that Britain had incurred a debt of £55 million on the Boer War by April 1901, a serious drain on the economy, and that the child must underwrite the necessity of war and neglect his books on the ground along with discarded coins. The war chest is also adorned with a *memento mori* of a skull and bones – a reminder of the true cost of war.

Gombrich's filters provide further opportunity for analysing feelings about the different national and imperial positioning seen in these two cartoons, as they do with subsequent images in this chapter. Veber's 'Marianne' is invested with two filters; one is the political bestiary - a vulgar interpretation of mythologised personification - and the other is the power of contrast - how huge her form is compared to her subjects' miniscule size. The filters are utilised in a coarse manner in order to transmit a sense of strong disapproval. In contrast, Sambourne's cartoon uses four of the six filters. Little 'John Bull' [Plate 36] - here in Gombrich's terms displaying political bestiary combined with the power of contrast - fills the huge war chest - as a figure of speech. An aspect of condensation and comparison of a little schoolboy supplying the nation with the means to buy an arsenal telescopes onto the image a sense of patriotism to support the imperial cause. Gombrich's six perspectives on cartoon interpretation thus allow the scholar to analyse both patriotic strength of feeling and supply commentary on a version of historical reporting of National and Imperial conflict.

The idea of Nation is as a construct bound deeply with concepts of ethnicity, borderlines and racial identity affiliated to a particular area (Wirth, 1936, 14 (16), pp.723-37; Hallett Carr, 1945; Hayes, 1954; Kohn, 1944, 1967; Deutsch, 1966; Hobsbawm, 2006a, 2006b). "A nation is a historically evolved, stable community of language, territory, economic life and psychological make-up manifested in a community of culture" (Stalin, 1936, p.8). Historian Eric Hobsbawm discusses Stalin's definition of nations as the 'best known' but not perfect - possible objective criteria for nationhood. In the case of war, a strong sense of national identity is of crucial importance in galvanising and maintaining support of the *status quo* within that nation and in the projection of its image to other nations that may or may not support its policies (Chatterjee, 1995). In order to assess how France and Britain viewed each other competitively, and on the matter of the Boer War, it is vital to state briefly the general overview of western historical, political and military positioning in terms of their imperialist

policies. Imperialism is the domination, political or economical, by one state over another. British and French leaders' foreign policy determined that some African countries were indeed dominated; at first by trade, and thereafter 'protection' of those areas, until eventually the land was declared part of the British or French Empire.

Contemporary cartoons reflected polemical views about imperial dominance invested with a particular slant. In 1901 the growing military and economic might of Germany and Russia was proving to be an extremely politically sensitive issue. In this context, France attempted to re-establish diplomatic links with Britain – the beginnings of the *Entente Cordiale*. In context with changing allegiances, British and French press reaction to foreign policy “became quite violent in their denunciations” of each other (Chamberlain, 1988, pp.158-160), especially the French. The French Foreign Minister Théophile Delcassé’s role, initially accused by his nationalist enemies of abandoning French Imperialist interests during the war, has been reassessed by Christopher Andrew (1968) as one of apathy after failing to broker deals with Germany and Russia. Latterly, Pascal Venier reappraised the evidence and concluded that Delcassé and his government “played a far more moderate” role (Venier, 2001, p. 74), trying to reconcile the two countries in a speech to the Senate given on 3rd April 1900, largely to shore up Anglo-French trade interests against Germany and Russia.^{xxv} What emerges is a complex idea about international alliances as variously perceived by the pro-imperialist British government, largely neutral French ministers and the pro-Boer press in 1900-01. What controls did the authorities use to control some of the less governable elements of the press?

British censorship of Boer War material restricted news reports to a maximum of 400 words and proscribed the mention of military plans. However, there was no direct censorship of cartoons in British newspapers and magazines.^{xxvi} *Punch*’s Boer War images often contained references to names of key places and figures but specific strategies were only referred to after

the fact in an oblique manner – a censorship of sorts by an expected government omission of crucial information (Beaumont, 1999, pp.267–289).^{xxvii} In Paris, by the 1881 press legislation and further modifications - *les lois scélérates* of 1893^{xxviii}, although censorship of political journals had been largely abandoned, the Ministry of the Interior reserved the right, via the police, to issue licences to sell newspapers and political magazines by street vendors, effectively still censoring the content. By 1901, the Ministry's legal depot recorded each edition of *L'Assiette* produced each month, and sighting of an example may have alerted them to Issue 26's inflammatory content on the back page (F¹⁸/(III)221). The Government were exceptionally mindful about implied or overt criticism of its policies, and those of its allies. The British Ambassador to Paris, Sir Edmund Monson, wrote to the Marquess of Lansdowne about the French press's inclination to criticise England's management of South African affairs:

“I have not for some time troubled your Lordship with any comments upon the attitude of the French Press towards England in connection with the affairs of South Africa, but Your Lordship will not be surprised at my stating that it continues to be in general as virulent and mendacious as ever. I have recently heard that Dr Leyds [the Boer Diplomatic Agent to the USA and London] has been giving ‘refreshers’ to those journals which originally took his pay to abuse us^{xxix}; but the class of journalists to whom he has distributed largesse is unfortunately one which enjoys spitting venom at England, and is probably quite content to do so without pecuniary recompense.” (Monson, 1901a, p.386, 1st Oct)

Veber, through *L'Assiette au Beurre*, caused the French and British government some alarm with one of his cartoons; this resulted in the threat of sanctions against the paper if they did not alter an offensive image of King Edward VII (I shall go into further detail upon this matter later).

Multi-Faceted National Identity

The images of ‘Marianne’, ‘John Bull’ and ‘Britannia’ (I shall discuss this in a more in-depth way later) point to the manner in which historical narratives are appropriated by Veber and Sambourne in the making and maintenance of national identity. There are differences between British and French nationalism – French nationalism is attached to popular sovereignty as written into their constitution in 1789, whereas British nationalism is associated with the seventeenth century rebellion against Monarchy (Kohn, 1944 and 1967). Thus each Empire shaped itself in categorical identities of ethnicity and nationalism that shaped “everyday life, offering both tools for grasping pre-existing homogeneity and difference and for constructing specific versions of such identities” (Calhoun, 1993, p.211). How do the cartoonists respond to nationalist rhetoric of dominance and assumed rights? Sambourne is largely supportive of the British national cause for maintaining peace abroad - his work is in general invested with a patriotic defence of Britain’s foreign policy, though he criticises spending. For him, patriotism is the defence of one’s country – a proprietorial projected action taken as a pre-emptive strike to ‘defend’ the subsumed Boer nation. Veber’s work reacts strongly as a criticism of both Britain and France against Britain’s elitist monarchic system, and also shows as corrupt French Government foreign policy determining a new identity and relationship with her old enemy Britain. Veber’s cartoons were very different to Sambourne’s tight line drawings depicting a Britain in control – the Frenchman’s loose and florid style gave him free rein to attack National and Imperial foreign policy on both sides.

Symbols of Nation, Nationalism and Imperialism

Exactly how nations, nationalism or nationhood are defined is problematic, as Hobsbawm states. However, a look at political cartoons reveals immediate nationalistic tropes attached to an assumed partisan view. Sambourne’s draws his Peace/Britannia noble and

bright and placed in a compromising position, offended and wronged by the rudeness of other nations. In 'A Vain Appeal' of 27th March [Plate 37], nuances of Sambourne's satire play through unlikely juxtapositions, as Gombrich's pictorial power of contrast is demonstrated as white and black respectively represent good and bad. 'Peace' is a pure white angel bearing a lily placed next to a dark and presumably dirty Boer wielding a whip. The white dove of peace flees from the aggressor's action.

After the abortive peace talks at Middleburg between Kitchener and Botha three weeks earlier, Sambourne's 'Peace' stands now tall, noble and white set against the shadowy Boer brute. Sambourne's understanding of the ambiguity of definitions is subtle and masterly, and he plays them to the full effect of ridiculing his target, the enemy. Alternatively, Sambourne can avoid ridicule and crush the enemy with a simple display of power. In the frontispiece 'Punch CXX' [Plate 38], a strong 'Britannia' stands on the Transvaal Flag, a direct allusion to Imperial potency. Thus Sambourne and *Punch* reflect their conservative support for British foreign policy for the war. His image of 'Britannia' represents the notion of Britain as an important symbol and a strong rallying point for the British Empire. In the 'CXX' image, she has no shield and she has drawn her sword – Britain is on the offensive as the rebellious Boers must be subdued. Often at Britannia's feet lay the British Lion, an heraldic animal symbolic of royalty and power.

In an intra-national example of adverse commentary [Plate 39], a netted lion lies slumbering amid South African rocks, representing 'Self-Complacency' and 'Apathy', which shows Sambourne and *Punch* sniping at their own Government Opposition's perceived inefficiency. Lord Rosebery, the leader of the Liberal Opposition, is portrayed as a dormouse asleep on the job. Sambourne uses the bound animal to symbolize the Liberal Party's schism over the Boer War and to ridicule the party's pacifist or anti-war stance, one that was deemed unpatriotic by the conservative press. In fact, Linley Sambourne entertained a lasting trend in

portraying Rosebery as a figure of ridicule (Ormond, 2010, pp.134-5). This is a strong comment on liberal interpretations and comments on Transvaal policy.

That policy was determined by international interest in what is known as the ‘Scramble for Africa’. Within the space of 20 years (1880-1900) Africa was divided up between power-hungry European leaders, and cartoonists like Sambourne and Veber were quick to outline national stereotypes and document their avarice. Britain was fighting a colonial war to secure South Africa against the Dutch Boer settlers there, and by 1901 the war was going badly. Sambourne’s middle class readership needed to be reassured that their Government’s policies were legitimate^{xxx} – his cartoons largely underwrote support for the Empire and military action though his work criticised the financial policy.

In the context of Anglo-French rivalry, Veber saw the death of Queen Victoria, and the arrival in South Africa of France’s old enemy General Kitchener, as an opportunity to expound to his disaffected bourgeois readership his ideas about British Imperialist National ineptitude and cruelty. Veber’s view of Britain is highly vulgar; he is damning in his view of the Monarchy, and also angry at British military treatment of Boer prisoners. His view of France is perhaps even worse; his mannish, drunken and slatternly ‘Marianne’, a truly counter-hegemonic image, is Veber’s way of railing against the rottenness of his own state that can be seen as an intra-national clash of nationalism and ideology. Do academic discourses on nationalism help to explain this?

Academic Discourses on Nationalism

Some historians like Hobsbawm (2006a), Cornick (1995) Andersen, Calhoun and Talmon (1981) have grown incrementally responsive to the manner in which national identities – like all forms of identity – are transmitted within multi-layered systems of cultural and social discipline that seem to represent a perceptual universe rather than merely echo some

underlying causation. The term 'nationalism' is thus dislocated from the subject to the object of scholarly sentences: it has become hard to say 'nationalism causes...' or even 'nationalism is...' - instead, there is discussion of specific people in certain contexts 'deploying' nationalism, 'utilizing' national imagery, and 'imagining' nations. This shift transforms nationalism and it becomes less useful as a means of making sense of the heterogeneity of social and political life.

Pertinently, Cornick explains that the idea of French nationality and its antithesis the British nationality have a long history, dating back from before the Norman era. The French saw 'Perfidious Albion' as the opposite of themselves; Albion embodying treacherous, sly qualities, with particular reference to political and diplomatic treaties and arrangements. This idea is ingrained in the French national "unconscious which, periodically, has blazed up again when fed by the oxygen of international rivalry or tension" (Cornick, 1995, p.7). Cornick describes an account of the treacherous Saxon race as that which "one could expect no more from a people who were supposed to have tails, drank too much, who could not speak French properly and who, in short, were devilish in character" (*ibid.*, p.10). Thus an image of the Anglophobe Frenchman is offered up as they refer to their old enemy as savage and untrustworthy. This, Cornick asserts, is not just concerned with the 'intrinsic' qualities of the French themselves but has more to do with the 'extrinsic' qualities of the "other, especially rival, peoples and nations" (*ibid.*, p.8). The imagery is particularly apposite to the Boer War cartoons as they highlight and polarise opinions about other nations (especially those as a concept of racial difference) as imaginary constructs about any given circumstance.

Historians Hayes (1954, 1960) and Kohn (1944, 1955) drew a distinction between a 'good' nationalism, indicated by images of civic inclusion and a benign or passionate love of

one's country in cartoons such as Sambourne's, and a 'bad' nationalism such as Veber's that display themes of aggression, chauvinism and racism. Kohn literally mapped out these two types of nationalism, situating the good nationalism in 'the west' (which for him meant France, Britain, and the US), and the bad nationalism in 'the east' (Germany and Russia). This awkward geographical polarity becomes only slightly more useful when cast as an epistemological distinction between 'nationalism' and 'patriotism', both of which are presumed to coexist within every national community. This presumption of position functions within political cartoons most successfully when there is deep sympathy or antipathy towards the legitimacy of their own or other nations, exemplified in Sambourne and Veber's images of national leaders (this is further dealt with later on). However, when there are ideological clashes within a nationalistic theme, for example Veber's 'Marianne', Kohn's model does not work so effectively to explain the counter-hegemonic nature of the piece, and so we must apply to it a Gramscian perspective to set it in context.

Intra-Nationalism

What of Hayes and Kohn's theories of national identity in relation to political cartoons? The material indicates a further point to analyse, that this is the type of identity other than straight nationalism as shown in the cartoons – in other words, the intra-nationalist struggle is documented in cartoons. This aspect concentrates on how successfully the publications and their cartoonists fight against their own hegemonic system as the war dragged on. It is an intra-nationalist image of a representation of 'Albion' rooted in the contextual history of the war - so this sense of belonging is what distinguishes the nation from other forms of belonging. A naïve form of nationalism and imperialism describes natural traits, such as gender, as

unchanging and eternal in Sambourne's 'Britannia' but tied to the most powerful national discourses in a profound historical way.

Nations in cartoons are always in action and dynamic; they are 'emerging', 'awakening', 'becoming', 'resurrecting', 'growing', fading, and even 'dying'. They are nearly always portrayed as historically dynamic. So when Anderson describes the nation as 'imagined', as a community of newspapers and journals linking those dispersed people who share an identity, he sees it as a product of 'print capitalism.' However, it is still operated by an elite group, though in the vernacular. Anderson explored the existence of a modern mode of historical understanding, which he considered "the precise analogue of the idea of the nation" (Anderson, 2006, p.26), developed on Ernst Gellner's (1983) suggestion about how ethnicity translates into nationalism. This, Calhoun says, operates through the conversion "of cultural traditions of everyday life into more specific historical claims" (Calhoun, 1993, p.224; O'Leary, 1997). Calhoun states that Anderson's transformational approach "reconstituted an aspect of the everyday cultural means of social life as part of a historical/ethnic claim to nationhood" (Calhoun, 1993, p.224). In Anderson's presentation, however, seemingly inescapable historical forces in turn produce both nationalism and its accompanying historiography.

Looking critically at the construct of national identity, as well as upon the synchronic structure of national and imperial identity, we actually discern the crux of what it means to 'be national' in political cartoons. Adjectives like 'French' or 'British' or 'Boer' are not simply sociological descriptions: they are apprehended as existing within a specific understanding of historical time, namely the events of the Boer War in 1901. Only by problematizing that diachronic positioning, by analysing ideological and cultural construction of political cartoons, can we fully perceive how national identity operates in this art form. These narratives of the Boer War both structure and curb how the nation can be imagined in political cartoons.

Sambourne and Veber's commentary was not all one-sided – an analysis of negative feedback to publications examines the way in which a nation, an empire and its leaders can communicate an impression of policy to the cartoonist, in particular through censorship (Goldstein, 1989). Analysis of nationalism and imperialism operate at different levels and this chapter is so far concerned with the broad conceptual and historical issues lying behind Boer War policies. However, one example shows that notions of nationalism and imperialism function at a very specific local level, and provoke reaction from a variety of authorities, as observed in the case of Veber's drawing of Edward VII in *L'Assiette*'s 26th issue published on 28th September 1901. It is apparent the authorities recognised that the devil was in the detail.

'L'Impudique Albion' - A Cartoon Protest Against Imperialism and Reactions to it.

L'Assiette (and Veber) disapproved of their Government's new allegiance with Britain and also control over the press. One supplement slipped into an edition stated that "The public, in the absence of the journalists, must be well convinced that freedom of the press is the most useful first of all the liberties" (*L'Assiette*, No 243).^{xxx} They also did not approve of the Ministry and police's attempts to control the press, and did as much as they could to subvert this system of control. One such example caused an international scandal: 'L'Impudique Albion', printed on the back page in full colour.

On 28th September that year, the appearance of Jean Veber's 'L'Impudique Albion' in *L'Assiette au Beurre* [Plate 40] caused Paul Cambon, the French Ambassador to London, to be called to Buckingham Palace to explain to King Edward VII the outrageous image of his visage ramped across Britannia's backside. An obvious example of Gombrich's portrait caricature telescoped onto a national symbol, the image was supposed to show Britain's true face to the World during the Boer War. Cambon wrote to his brother Jules in a letter dated 30th October about the effect of this cartoon:

“Aujourd’hui, j’ai vu le roi...Il m’a reçu comme lorsqu’il était prince de Galles, avec la même bonhomie, mais il m’a beaucoup parlé des caricatures françaises. Le fait est qu’il y en a une dans je ne sais quelle petite feuille, ‘Rire’ ou autre, qui dépasse les limites de l’inconvenance. C’est une vieille Britannia casquée et armée qui se retourne, relève sa jupe et montre tout ce que tu peux imaginer. Or, ce que tu peux imaginer, tout en étant bien ce que ce doit être, est cependant la ressemblance exacte du roi Edouard. C’est très bien fait, mais c’est scandaleux.”^{xxxii} (Paul Cambon, *Correspondance*, in Dixmier & Dixmier, 1974, p.220)

L’Assiette’s staff were warned that they must alter the image if they wished to continue selling copies on the street. Instead of bowing to the authorities’ demands, *L’Assiette* rose to the challenge by printing eleven more versions, each subsequent edition merely covering the offending article with a skirt of incrementally more obscure veils of colour and pattern – the King’s face is still clearly visible through some of the less opaque. This astute tactic enabled *L’Assiette* to print more than 250,000 copies of Veber’s Transvaal edition – a massive increase compared to the more usual weekly run of 40,000 copies - eventually twelve prints - and was pronounced by *L’Assiette* as a “success without precedent” (Bachollet, 1980, pp. 14-15).

In wartime, censorship was heavier than in times of peace, and authorities paid more attention to the detail and structure not only of the cartoons but also of the publication itself. The discovery and the conservation of certain supplements inserted in *L’Assiette* and certain other documents allow us to reconstitute a partial review of the magazine’s encounter with censorship. In a bold statement slipped into subsequent versions of Issue 26, *L’Assiette* announced that legal proceedings had been started against them. The leaflet also encouraged booksellers to help defeat the police’s efforts to remove all copies from shops and kiosks:

“L’Assiette au Beurre est poursuivie!!! Le Parquet a jugé offensante pour S M Edouard VII “L’Impudique Albion”. Tous les exemplaires que la Police trouve chez les libraires sont saisis. Et L’Assiette au Beurre reçoit tous les jours des monceaux de lettres de personnes qui ne peuvent se procurer le numéro. En attendant que la Justice suive son...cours, l’Administration de L’Assiette au Beurre a décidé de faire paraître une nouvelle édition, où “L’Impudique Albion” portera...une jupe. Avis

aux marchands de journaux et libraires, qui pourront sans crainte afficher à leur vitrine cette nouvelle édition de *L'Assiette au Beurre*. Si, malgré tout, il y a avait saisie, nous prions MM les Libraires de nous en aviser immédiatement.” (Emile Loubet, 1901, AP473/12: Dossier 3, p.126)

The images in Plate 41 demonstrate the flexibility and speed at which *L'Assiette's* printers operated, apparently using stencils to modify the original image with veils, faint spots, transparent frilled blue or orange skirts that still showed the King's face. This double insult allowed the magazine to run the joke for nearly three weeks. Finally, the twelfth edition sported a thick and austere blue skirt with white spots that definitively eliminated any inopportune suggestion of vulgarity (Bachollet, 1980, p.15).

Those in power were concerned about the incident and followed the magazine's attempts to avoid prosecution while at the same time continuing to enjoy the joke and increase their popularity and sales through daily newspapers. Other papers such as *Le Petit Bleu* and *Le Temps* did not specifically remark on the cartoon's effect but carried *Assiette's* advertisements and *Le Figaro* even showed the print run of Issue 26 on the 5th October that reached an unprecedented 258,450 copies^{xxxiii}.

President Loubet's private archive files holds four copies of *L'Assiette's* No 26 issue, two of which show 'Britannia' with an overprinted skirt, editions 9 and 12. There is no existing correspondence specifically about the case in these files to accompany the magazines. There are however, many letters in the same dossier documenting the correspondence between King Edward VII and Loubet about the health and death of Queen Victoria and documents concerning British export and import trade. The magazine's presence within this batch intimates that there was a clear interest shown in the possible negative effects of the edition on Imperial and Nationalist interests.

Diplomatic negotiations between Britain and France to ensure restitution indicated the level of disquiet caused by Veber's design and subsequent modifications. The British Ambassador to

Paris, Sir Edmund Monson, wrote to Paul Cambon, his counterpart in London, about the issue and subsequent legal action taken by the French authorities:

“I transmit herewith a copy of a despatch from HM Minister in Brussels relative to the circulation of a very disgusting cartoon published in a Paris journal called ‘*L’Assiette au Beurre*’. It is stated in the despatch that this publication has been suppressed by the police in Paris, and I shall be glad to learn from your Excellency whether the statement is correct, and whether the suppression has been carried out effectively.” (Monson, 1901b, p. 429, 1st October)

A few days later he wrote to press home further a particular move to prosecute the artist:

“I have received your despatch No 389 of the 4th instant reporting the decision of the Parquet of the department of the Seine to prosecute the publisher of the paper *L’Assiette au Beurre* and the designer of the cartoons. I concur in your Excellency’s view that in the circumstances the diplomatic representation is now required.” (*ibid.*, p.445, 9th October)

However, as *L’Assiette* produced more opaque versions of Albion and encouraged booksellers to report seizure of copies, the French authorities found no real reason to prosecute the paper or its artist. Monson and Cambon soon realized that by insisting on pursuing any legal channels they might prolong the life of this scandalous image for many more weeks:

“I received Your Excellency’s despatch No 408 of the 15th instant in which you report that the prosecution of the offensive number of *L’Assiette au Beurre* has fallen through owing to the competent legal authorities having come to the conclusion that there was no case. I concur in Your Excellency’s opinion that any attempt of the part of HM Government to press for a fresh prosecution would... be undesirable. [The last two words replace the following subclause ‘...result in giving increased currency to the scandal.’”] (*ibid.*, p.463, 23rd October)

Monson, in a concurrent series of letters to the Marquess of Lansdowne in London, wrote in some detail about the offending cartoon, attempts to censor it and its spread throughout Paris and Europe:

“With reference to your Lordship’s despatch No 489 (429?) of the 1st instant transmitting to a copy of Mr Phipps despatch No 121 of the 29th ultimo, in which was enclosed an extract from the ‘Petit Bleu’ of Brussels respecting the obscene and scurrilous manner of a publication in Paris entitled ‘*L’Assiette au Beurre*’, I have the honour to state that this particular issue was of so offensive a character that the Paris Police, which is certainly not squeamish on questions of decency, took on its own initiative the step of ordering its suppression.

As I have had occasion to explain before, such police action is not entirely insufficient to stop the sale of the offending paper, but actually serves as an advertisement for it; and not only increases the circulation but enhances its price. Moreover in the present instance, as in others, the principal Paris journals received and published conspicuous advertisements of ‘*L’Assiette au Beurre*’, with an illustration representing a discomfited and fugitive Britannia.

The issue in question is however in certain particulars of a character as exceptionally offensive that the Parquet of the department of the Seine has itself taken the matter up, and decided to prosecute the publisher of the paper and the designer of the cartoons on the charge of an offence against public morals. This action on the part of the competent legal authorities relieves me of the necessity of making any diplomatic representation of the subject; and will, I hope, cause disappointment to the offenders themselves, who would certainly have been extremely gratified to have had evidence that their insolence had provoked official remonstrances on the part of the country which they had insulted.” (Monson, 1901a, p.389, 4th Oct 1901)

Two weeks later a disappointed and frustrated Monson reported to Lansdowne that the French legal system would not be pursuing the case:

“I have reported by telegraph that the prosecution of the offensive issue of ‘*L’Assiette au Beurre*’ has fallen through, the competent legal authorities having, upon consideration, come to the conclusion that there was no case, and submitted a decision of ‘non-lieu’.

I am not very much surprised at this decision, which is inspired no doubt by the conviction that the Border line between decency and impropriety cannot in the present condition of Parisian taste be said to exist any longer.

It would of course be possible for me to insist upon the Government setting up a fresh prosecution, but I regret to have to express the certainty which I feel that if I received the orders of His Majesty's Government to take this step, it would give increased currency to a scandal which will soon be forgotten in the publication of further obscenities, - (the latest issue of the '*L'Assiette au Beurre*' being indescribably filthy) - and that even if the offenders were convicted their punishment would be illusory." (*ibid.*, p.408, 15th Oct)

Those in power, it seems, were perturbed at the intransigence of the press in Paris, *L'Assiette* in particular, toward Anglo-French foreign policy about the Boer War. The elite were caught in a dilemma of needing the press to provide good publicity for their alliance and their sensitivity to criticism. The authorities' need to promote cordial Anglo-French relations via the press to the public was disrupted by *L'Assiette's* stance. Carefully nurtured imperial, national and patriotic ideals were compromised by Veber's 'filthy' 'Britannia', a symptom of the French press as conveyed in Monson's correspondence, and served in his view to show the French reading public's "indifference to the obligations of ordinary propriety" (*ibid.*, No 402, 11th Oct 1901). Although the police seized copies of Issue 26 in September and October on moral grounds of propriety and to assuage the 'insulted country', no legal papers were actually served by the Paris courts of Justice upon either Schwarz or Veber and the case was closed.

This specific example of press rebellion about National and Imperial policy and the authorities' reaction against dissenting opinion acts doubly as an indication of how local affairs provoke concern about the Boer War as a deeply personal issue, and also worried those promoting French and British diplomatic policy. How do the elite and the ruled function in terms of nationalism in academic discussions on supporting or protesting against foreign policy?

Nationalism, The Elite and The Follower in Cartoons

Reinterpretations of the bond between elite and the ruled is explored in recent scholarship on nationalism (Chatterjee, 1995) as a synthesis to the two strands - these two contrasting approaches “explore the ways an elite minority attempts to impose vocabularies of order and social discipline on a ‘people’ that never ceases to talk back in unpredictable ways” (*ibid.*, p.159). Chatterjee speaks of a “coming together of two domains of politics” (the elite and the popular) and recognizes that “the language of nationalism underwent a quite radical transformation of meaning in the peasant domain of politics” (*ibid.*, pp.159-160). Elite nationalism, he contends, was not able to “absorb and appropriate its other within a single homogeneous unity” (*ibid.*, p.160). The elite nationalism of Salisbury’s Britain to gain support for her Boer war policies was certainly criticised in Sambourne and Veber’s work.

Some of Chatterjee’s approaches to nationalism, elite or follower, are relevant to an analysis of cartoon opinions of empire and nation, and how cartoonists render the idea of patriotism when portraying images of victims. The nationalistic worlds of the elite and popular are meat and drink to Sambourne and Veber as they combine their various brands of national representation with caustic wit.

In October 1900, ill and demoralised, Paul Kruger left South Africa – leaving his dying wife behind - for a life in exile in The Netherlands under the protection of the Dutch Queen Wilhelmina. Veber’s rendering of ‘L’Épave’ shows Kruger as a wrecked leviathan stranded on a Netherlandish beach – [Plate 42]. This cartoon shows an ingrained patriotism in the symbolic shielding of the old Boer leader by the ‘home’ nation in this pro-Boer, pro-Dutch image that also appeals to humanitarian concern for Kruger’s state of health. ‘Le Verger de L’Edouard’ [Plate 43] is a less calm composition, though equally invested with concern for the inhumane treatment of helpless victims – this time infused with cold anger against the effect of an elitist, Imperialist foreign policy. The portrayal is a powerful juxtaposition of anti-British anger and

pro-Boer sentiment in which a group of tiny faceless British soldiers march away from a mass hanging of heavily individualised and detailed Boers. Gombrich's filters offer only simple clues to Veber's view of the British abuse of Boers. The power of contrast is apparent in both images but used for slightly different effect. 'L'Épave's' huge beached figure has lost all his strength; alternatively, the diminutive soldiers hold all the power in the 'Le Verger' image, their uniform appearance underscores their mob cruelty.^{xxxiv}

Iconography of War

Costume, flags and weapons in cartoons play an important role in defining nations and empire. They can demonstrate a visible and physical cohesion of a citizen and a nation's purpose. They can also provide a subtext by which support or subversion of foreign policy can be determined. Using Gombrich's analytical filters, it is possible to gauge to a degree of subtlety how historical events are perceived and portrayed in these illustrations. Personification of nations like 'Britannia', 'John Bull' and 'Marianne' are dressed variously for the roles they play in the construction of pro or anti-imperial policy. Usually imagined in art as a young woman with brown or golden hair, 'Britannia' wore her Corinthian helmet and flowing white robes; she sometimes held Poseidon's three-pronged trident and is often depicted wading into the sea, representing British Naval power (Dresser, 1989, pp.26-49; Henig, 1983, pp.167-69; Atherton, 1974). An important change from earlier centuries was that she was no longer bare-breasted, perhaps due to Victorian modesty and perhaps to differentiate her from 'Marianne'. She also usually held or stood beside a Greek round (hoplite) shield, upon which the British Union Flag was stamped. Sambourne's 'Britannia' adheres in general to this mould with a few variations depending on the intention of *Punch's* message. Sambourne's 'Britannia' is sometimes peaceful, but in 'CXX' she is the Union Jack-clad aggressor, though she must show her arm against the rebellious Boers who, seemingly regretfully, must be taught a lesson.

Controversially, Veber's 'Britannia' has Britannia's Union Jack skirt raised over her hips, her identifying helmet peeking over the top of her backside, the 'bifteck' teeth revealed in a rictus grin (Tombs & Tombs, 2007, p.450). His 'Marianne' is no less disrespectfully dressed, her red shirt is stretched over her corpulent frame and her Phrygian cap is sloped over her greasy hair - the rumpled costumes are all signs that Veber thinks France dishonours herself.

Followers were given costumes in order to identify sides in the war, and the cartoonists drew extreme forms in order to convey their opinions. The British wore sola topi helmets with khaki uniforms, though they had begun the war in infantry red: the Boers wore the slouch hat with upturned edge. Sambourne drew his uniforms with a crisp precision occasionally dirtying up a Boer outfit for effect to show him as a beast. Likewise, Veber used the uniform to remove an idea of humanity, but this time from the British. For example, in the 'Le Verger Du Roi Edouard', British soldiers are rendered as one faceless homogenous group ignoring the suffering they have inflicted on the shabby and shoeless Boers behind them.

Flags are the portable symbol of Nation and Empire (see Table Three on page 263), and in cartoons are used as a backdrop to a setting or are occasionally swathed around a figure. The national standards underline the point to be made in images about war – they are supposed to inspire strong patriotic feeling. Gombrich's condensation and comparison filter telescopes two possible readings of National and Imperial policy into one patriotic message: Trust The Government. In 'Pay! Pay! Pay!' the Union Jack and the Stars and Stripes indicate American support for British overseas affairs and offer the *Punch* reader reassurance that those affairs are in order. In the same cartoon, weaponry is referred to in order to show how 'John Bull's' money will be spent – cannons and rifles are ranged up and ready to be used to fight for the Empire's integrity. In 'A Vain Appeal' Sambourne turns the Boer's gun away from 'Peace', effectively disarming and ridiculing him and his nation. Veber places weapons in British hands in some of his work. However, a powerful effect is the absence of brandished weaponry

in ‘L’Épave’ and ‘Le Verger’ that highlights appalling manual and psychological violence visited by one nation upon another.

Conclusion

Cartoonists can employ subtle techniques in order to convey a sense of nationalist or imperialist opinion, as well as blunt ones. Sambourne’s method may be highly effective, when looking at the evidence in context, in demonstrating how the source material reflects more about historical ‘realities’ than Veber’s brash jingoism. Sambourne’s images may indicate finer levels of feeling about the Boer War, although we are left in no doubt about the strength of Veber’s anger. We are left with one remaining question to answer and summarize. How does an academic analysis of these images as representative of aspects of foreign policy fare alongside mainstream scholarship on Nationalism and Imperialism?

Reading scholarly texts on Nationalism and Imperialism, chronological or conceptual or interdisciplinary, shows their struggle to describe a nation against the heterogeneity of its own distinctive ideologies. As such constructs, political cartoons act as disrupters of reported ‘fact’ that in effect, paradoxically confirm and deny the validation of those very same details. Moreover, there are more than two domains: there is rather too much variety within each of Chatterjee’s categories to sustain such a crisp distinction, as Hobsbawm would have nationalism described.

Cartoons are multi-faceted in that they show that they are hegemonic or counter-hegemonic by the way they display Nationalism, Patriotism and Imperialism. Scholars and cartoonists struggle with the idea of Nationalism, Imperialism and Patriotism, though the historian employs an academic approach to the topic. As nationalism historian Adam Lerner describes, “The nation comes to life in texts other than those which are ostensibly nationalist; it is sustained in the discourses of gender and sexuality, in discussions of economics and ecology,

in the language of the everyday and of theory” (Lerner, 1993, p.1). However, the Boer War political cartoons still adhere to a largely imagined sense of community.

As scholars try to make sense of that variety of interpretation and comment about nationalism and imperialism, they draw upon the rhetorical resources of a well-established vocabulary of national and imperial identity. However the results of each enquiry are very different. The polarity of nationalism historians’ discourse indicates the difficulties classifying what nationalism is, how it should be documented, and in drawing fine distinctions within certain geographical or political areas.

Problems arise when these historians try to grapple with describing intra-national disputes (such as civil war or political dissention), where two sides share an imposed nationality, yet attempt to redefine the nature of their relationship with that country through a publication other than that issued or backed by the State. Calhoun asserts that nationalism and ethnicity (and by implication Imperialism) “are part of a modern set of categorical identities invoked by elites and other participants in political and social struggles” that are promoted through “the production of replicable series of artefacts” that underscore an idea of Nation or Empire (Calhoun, 1993, p.235). In a ‘crucial link’ the press provided dispersed ethnic communities with a sense of identity that was opposed to state-imposed national identity (Andersen, 2006). In this respect, cartoons are no exception.

The political cartoonist’s nationalistic vocabulary embraces a similar dynamic and link but can be necessarily coarser or more subtle than state-imposed ideals in order to portray bold editorial opinion to the public about foreign policy. Sambourne and Veber adopt a variety of hegemonic and counter-hegemonic approaches to convey their support for or protest against the nation-state and the effects of its foreign policy. Analysing cartoons through a Gramscian perspective and applying Gombrich’s visual coding permits the historian to perceive a sense of Nation and/ or Empire, as well as how *Punch* and *L’Assiette*’s editorial cartoonists related to

aspects of the war. More research is needed to analyse the way in which the cartoon reader may relate to his society as a member of a dispersed 'imagined community' of Nationalists, Imperialists and their opposites conjoined via the press. Yet the cartoons still betray troubled distinctions about the idea of Nation, Empire and Patriotic feeling in the face of harsh unpalatable truths about the brutality of war that can disperse that sense of belonging^{xxxv}. Subtle subtexts in images provide more than a simple bold message of support for one nation or protest against another. Read in context, cartoons supply a range of commentaries about reported or historical events. The subtler ones offer a whole variety of opinions about what a Nation or Empire is, if its Government is competent or incapable, whether its foreign policies are justified or unwarranted, and lastly act a guide to patriotic feelings about the Boer War.

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CHAPTER SIX - Drawing Power: Male Responsibility and Accountability in the Boer War Cartoons

It is often difficult to distinguish exactly where the boundaries lie in defining heroes or enemies in war. Propagandic images assist in defining those boundaries in somewhat crude terms. Warring countries use bold imagery to bolster their own position; they also use strong compositions to undermine their enemy. The message of political cartoons, however, often lies somewhere outside the stark parameters of jingoism. Jingoism is often allied to certain strands of interpretation; in terms of newspaper readership this is closely connected to identity, ideology and class distinctions. Cartoons that illustrate, glorify or lampoon male power tend to enhance notions of identity, ideology and class, and subvert them to transform the reading. They engage the reader on many levels, encouraging visceral, psychological and philosophical readings of male authority as covered by cartoon headline coverage of the Boer war.

Cartoonists often use the propagandic message as a tool that is subordinate to the satirical message about patriotism. Images of power, abuse, frailty and death are tools by which the cartoonists mean to create fresh readings of familiar situations. Readings of the Boer War cartoons either support or refute notions of the male stereotype as it is attached or detached from the idea of national expectations. The images engage in a pictorial sense of personal affront in which powerful male figures are held accountable for their actions (so the cartoonists infer), and as such cannot hide behind the system, military or secular.

In this Chapter, an assessment of notions of the fin-de-siècle male's potency in the Boer War shows that Linley Sambourne and Jean Veber's political cartoons, for *Punch* and *L'Assiette* respectively, offer both extreme and delicate observations on the role of the male

hero or enemy in the Boer War. Ideas of strength and weakness are also linked to notions of physical manhood and male psychological capability. Cartoon representations of virility or impotence are intimately connected to interpretations of success or failure in war. Linked to the main argument of this thesis, which is that Sambourne and Veber's cartoons' headline representation is a combination of artistic licence and a version of the truth, notions of male power have an added potency when issues of responsibility and accountability arise. Tensions and imbalances of power and powerlessness emerge in an especially strong fashion when considering cartoons that compared Boer prisoners' dreadful conditions in the concentration camps with the depiction of British soldiers into whose hands the Boers' welfare had been entrusted.

Do political cartoons such as Sambourne's and Veber's depend on polarized views? And when combined with 'truth' variations, do they create masculinist fictions on war, the institutionalization of which may convey each organ's particular brand of politics? If so - how and why do they do this? Attached to the human story of the war is a strong sense of right and wrong. This feeling is attached to the mythologising of tropes which gender historian Angela Woollacott describes as "radicalised masculinities" (2006, p.59) that emerged, she suggests, from ideological jingoism inherent in adventure stories and that led to cultural inculcation of loyal followers to Imperialist militaristic causes: young males were thus prepared to sacrifice their lives for the Empire's desire for power by warfare. This view confirms Dawson's (1994) appraisal of the Edwardian era as one of hothousing the genders into fervent nurturers and supporters of the war. An analysis of the pictorial conventions of the cartoons comprises psychological and symbolic aspects of transferred beliefs of nationhood and masculinity. These values are projected onto the figures represented in the images in the broadly conservative *Punch* and militantly socialist *L'Assiette au Beurre*.

They also indicate levels of unconscious and subconscious manifestations of masculinity in the way the images reflect types of primal (instinctive) or sophisticated (learned) reactions to reported events. Thus the two cartoonists' work shows evidence of their type of engagement with their subject matter. Veber's cartoons are evocative of primitive rage whereas Sambourne's demonstrate urbane detachment from the horrors man might inflict on his fellow man. Indeed, Sambourne's disgust is reserved for Boers and their sympathizers who do not like to observe 'gentlemanly' conduct as opposed to Veber's outright protest about British inhumanity. Drawing on Freudian analysis, Reber defines that the unconscious mind is primal and attached to the primitive, animalistic and instinctual part of the psyche, whereas the subconscious is "a level of mind through which material passes on the way toward full consciousness" (Reber, 1985, p.740). This state of mind acts as "an information store containing memories that are momentarily outside of awareness but which can easily be brought into consciousness" (*ibid.*). How do cartoons operate as extensions of the male psyche in war?

Throughout, an examination of the masculinist debate will allow connections to be made between notions of heroic manliness or cowardly weakness with respect to the interests of imperial militaristic progress of the war. Opening up the debate on the nature of masculinity and war, ethical and political theorist Kimberley Hutchings (2008) assesses the two-part dilemma plaguing gender and war historians. She points out notions of masculinity change just as do those of warfare. Hutchings contends that contextual 'substantive commonalities' offer some idea of definition but states subsequent analyses on the nature of masculinity and war risk remaining unfixed in their terminologies, thus undermining theoretical frameworks (Hutchings, *ibid*, p.389). She proposes a re-examination of 'hegemonic masculinity' be combined with academic survey on the changing nature of maleness and its link with war (*ibid.*, p.390):

“The role of masculinity in these arguments [as an interpretive reference point for the academic survey] is not tied to any fixed content. Instead, it is the formal properties of masculinity as a relational concept, drawing its meaning from a logic of contrast (between different masculinities) and a logic of contradiction (between masculinity and femininity), that enable it to act as a prism through which to see, and make sense of war.” (*ibid.*, p.390)

Hutchings looks primarily at literary notions and accounts of contemporary masculinity and warfare for her references. Though her view is broad, the questions she raises are pertinent to pictorial analysis of political cartoons in so far as the framework she outlines is apposite to the analysis of shifting paradigms and perspectives on male depiction in context. Thus a liminal space is opened between depictions of masculinity and warfare, and types of interpretation of the same editorial material.

The sample in this Chapter comprises of ten cartoons from twenty-two male-only compositions, from a total of forty-five images, which represent a variety of male perspectives in cartoons on the war.^{xxxvi} The Chapter will outline definitions of the male hero and enemy and will assess the implied role of Kings, military leaders, politicians and the ordinary man in the Boer War cartoons.

Table Four on page 263 shows the high number of male figures used to demonstrate power, compared to women and children, especially in *L'Assiette's* case. These numbers in isolation are indicators of the cartoonists' use of the male figure as identified with issues of power and abuse; Veber draws sixty per cent more men than Sambourne.

However, it is only with close analysis of the cartoons that a deeper sense of types of reaction can be discerned. Political cartoons played a crucial role in conveying a message of approval or disapproval on certain topics. The strong visuals also transmit political and psychological viewpoints. Veber's portfolio presentation of the war in *L'Assiette* is a marked contrast to the chronological account of the Boer War as recorded by Sambourne in *Punch*.

These differences represent not just an intense division of editorial viewpoints. They also represent more widely held opinions about England's soldiery, and the assumed male role as protector, as perceived at home and abroad as portrayed in the press. In context, this public view is represented by the fact that more people turned out to celebrate the Relief of Mafeking on Friday 18 May 1900 than the Armistice of 1918. This was a state of affairs whipped up by the press (Krebs, 1999, p.1). In France, Veber's special edition achieved a phenomenal 250,000 copies issued in two weeks, this is evidence of significantly raised reader interest in debunking masculine authority attached to the war.

The Gramscian perspective of hegemony as applied to the cartoons highlights the two magazines different political views in terms of masculine strength and weakness. Cartoonists describe and attack these anonymising systems to draw attention to individual accountability in which virile compositions are juxtaposed with weak ones; each conveys human notions of superiority or inferiority. Hegemonic culture in cartoons is upheld by representations of patriarchal masculinism as attached to the contemporary idea of nation and militarism as a uniquely male preserve. Conversely, those images that represent a counter-hegemonic culture use a different set of signs and signifiers to register protest in a more disaffected and brutal manner than those devoted to the Imperial masculinist cause.

Kris and Gombrich (1938, 1956) offer a psychological analysis of political cartoons as indicators of differing types of appropriate or inappropriate behaviour, whereby a magazine's editorial policy on a particular issue is made plain: for example, the treatment of Boer prisoners. Regarding Sambourne and Veber's images through Gombrich's six-point filter system, a reader may see strong comment concerning an issue of male accountability for Boer War policy support or protest. The theoretical and pictorial analysis underpins conceptions on the liminal space between the passive notional role of masculinity as protector and the active idea of men as accountable 'war-makers' as Hutchings describes below:

“The link between masculinity and war lies in shared norms. The standards that govern the being and conduct of men overlap with the standards that govern the being and conduct of war-makers, from foot-soldiers to weapons experts to generals and political leaders.” (Hutchings, 2008, p.391)

Select groups of male images demonstrate the representation of varying degrees of male power and impotence. They are comprised of the following: royalty, super-beings and military strength; the anti-hero as moral victor; the ordinary soldier; losers and outsiders. Each group represents a particular perspective of assumed responsibility or assigned accountability. In other words, they either claim the right of male Imperial power to apply force to gain peace, or assert human entitlement to basic decencies of treatment. The varying degrees of accountability shown in the cartoon groups demonstrate a combination of polemical opinion for and against the Imperial male's conduct in High Office. They also present certain difficulties about ascribing liability to the ordinary male, the soldier or the victim.

Some male figures in the cartoons are symbols of imperial strength and their prerogative to support British foreign policy. Others comprise symbols of the emasculated male, of dehumanisation and mythology in order to register an oppositional stance. A psychological aspect on the role of power adds nuances of interpretation into the debate on maleness in the cartoons. Through such devices aspersion is cast on the conduct of the Imperial and militarised male, a supposedly civilised and potent gentleman. Thus discourses are opened into the two magazines' differing editorial slants.

Richard Terdiman (1985, p.54) suggests that such discourses include cultures of resistance to ideology. Through Gramscian theory, and the analysis of political cartoons on the subject of heroes and villains, the Sambourne group supports hegemonic culture and ideology, and the Veber group acknowledges this but challenges the *status quo*. Interpretation is linked to the contexts of historical events and national expectations; the latter includes ideas of patriotism, maleness and civilisation. Joane Nagel (1998) argues that the male is intrinsically

geared toward the making of nations. So how did the British and French males perceive themselves?

By the time of the Boer War, gender specific roles became discretely separate but joined to the same Imperialist end. “Towards the end of the century and into the Edwardian period, desirable masculinities and femininities increasingly came to be imagined and reorganised predominantly in terms of their gender-specific contributions to the imperial mission” (Dawson, 1994, p.147). This imposition of roles dictated that British mothers should turn boys into men and men should train as killing machines designed to teach the uncivilised enemy a lesson to preserve imperial economic dominance, and to assert primal psychological pressure onto the enemy.

Theodore Zeldin explains that the French perceived that nationalism was allied to civilisation, but unlike the British, as a revolutionary and Republican trait. “To be a Frenchman, in the fullest sense, meant to be civilised.../ [and] implied politeness, urbanity, a rejection of savagery and rurality...” (Zeldin, 1977, p.6). They rejected the self-serving aristocratic mindset. The British placed their faith in shows of economic and imperial strength. “Politics...was not about issues, but trials of strength, and since the English believed that will-power triumphed (rather than ideas) the aristocracy readily yielded” (*ibid.*, p.107). Zeldin’s support of E. Boutmy’s (1904) timely impression of the individualist Englishman underwrites representations of him in other forms.^{xxxvii} The expectation of such qualities is fiercely apparent in Sambourne and Veber’s accounts of the male and his behaviour in the 1901 Boer War cartoons. Each set also inspires distinct psychological responses toward images of the ultimate wartime contrast of hero or villain.

The Hero/Villain

Michael Nolan sketches a notion of the enemy as a collection of opinions about the other side as, “exaggerated or negative versions of precisely those qualities that it perceived to be lacking or inadequate in itself” (Nolan, 2005, p.2). He further expands on the reasons for such exaggerations: “Banishing undesirable traits and projecting them onto other people was the essential step in the consolidation of national identity” (*ibid.*, p.2). Nolan’s psychological insights are suitable for applying to the personal ideas of heroes and villains represented in political cartoons as an intriguing step in the construct of the male’s role in cartoons. In addition, the images dictate how the viewer should respond to these men, either as a primal reaction against him or a subconscious identification with comfortable and familiar tokens. Both groups of cartoons show the hero or villain bestowed with certain attributes according to type; the hero is drawn upright and positive and the villain misshapen and negative, each designed to elicit a sense of assurance or repulsion. Thus, leaders as cartoons are especially effective targets for signifying *Punch* and *L’Assiette’s* trenchant views on events in South Africa.

Royalty, Super-Beings and Military Strength

Royal figures act as ciphers of ultimate male authority, the codification of which, through types of cartoon representation, amounts to an impression of responsibility or irresponsibility for their Government’s policies on war. Codes of illustration show royal figureheads as capable of power; it is this potency that is given certain accents in political cartoons indicating if power is used wisely or abused. As a general rule, positive power is allied with images of benign strength and its opposite invested with an incapable negativity associated with cruel action. Some royalty are seen as heroes and some as gross incompetents. Queen Victoria had achieved some kind of apotheosis, transcending the definition of her sex as she represents the

paternalistic and hegemonic empire. The royal legacy is passed on, in *Punch's* view, to her ageing son, Edward VII. Sambourne's 'God Save the King!' – [Plate 44] – embodies a nationalistic idea of the King as a much-loved figure of authority.

The opposite effect is clearly apparent in Veber's 'Le Foudre de Guerre - The Thunderbolt of War' - [Plate 45]. The cartoon shows Edward VII ridiculed as a barrel of wine, incontinent and inflexible, medals nailed to the wood. His sceptre is topped with a clenched fist and subjects bow under his vast bulk. He is illustrated wearing two crowns: one of his Kingdom and the other of the Empire. He is hardly the lighting-bolt of war as labelled. Gombrich's analysis of condensation and contraction of metaphor is usefully applied to this image that may be perceived as an outrageously self-indulgent male head of state leaning on tiny figures, his subjects, the fates for which he is ultimately responsible. Here, Veber displays his distinct disapproval of the playboy King and evokes a physical reaction of disgust intimating the smell of stale wine and urine. This appeal to the primitive is strong – why should a man who has no control over his faculties be allowed to rule?

The military male as hero is more directly connected with positive action-effect, especially when war is represented as 'work': the preserve of the male. These images should be interpreted as the schema for royalty but invested with added interest presenting executors of foreign and military policy. Analysis of hegemonic structures apparent within cartoons of military figures underwrites Hutchings' theoretical definition of masculine roles as war-maker and of responsibility and power as extended into the arena of battle. Sambourne and Veber's cartoons of Kitchener 'at work' bear her theory out.^{xxxviii}

Kitchener, the hero of Omdurman, Fashoda and the Boer War, was sent out to South Africa after two-and-a-half years to take over from Lord Roberts. Kitchener relieved Roberts as

commander-in-chief in South Africa on November 29, 1900 and, in an attempt to undermine and suppress the guerrilla campaign, initiated plans to:

“flush out guerrillas in a series of systematic drives, organized like a sporting shoot, with success defined in a weekly 'bag' of killed, captured and wounded, and to sweep the country bare of everything that could give sustenance to the guerrillas, including women and children. . . . It was the clearance of civilians - uprooting a whole nation - that would come to dominate the last phase of the war.” (Pakenham, 2004, p.493)

An heroic Kitchener is depicted as a stalwart and respectable figure in Sambourne's 'Hope Deferred' [Plate 46]. Impeccably turned out in front of his tent, he reads his newspaper, muses on the traditional aristocratic summer activities, and wonders aloud to the nation about leave. He is shown as a dutiful soldier, an officer of rank and, of course, the archetypal English gentleman. He is the press's and nation's hero and hope of a swift end to a long and embarrassing war. Tommy Atkins plays a supporting role guarding the Commander-in-Chief's tent. Gombrich's visual scale of perspective presents Kitchener as a political caricature combined with the condensation of a straight clean authority. The cartoon is designed to encourage a viewer's sense of faith in Kitchener.

Pakenham does not subscribe wholly to *Punch's* rosy-hued vision. He describes Kitchener as a man whose “gifts were raw and heroic...and [who] suffered the all-consuming frustrations of a man who fancied himself a colossus. / His real forte was not organisation but leadership, leadership of a strange, personal kind; a human whirlwind, driving his men to the limits of endurance – and beyond – all in the pursuit of a clear-cut military victory” (Pakenham, 2004, pp.492-3). Contemporary accounts about him from other officers, Milner and Roberts among them, bear out Pakenham's view (National Archives (NA): WO 108/411). Views of the great man by the common soldiery may be represented by the intimidated expression on 'Tommy Atkins' face.

Veber's 'Lord Kitchener' [Plate 47] points out the inhumane treatment as a mark of a man who is a beast: Kitchener is reduced to pond-life. A massive toad crouches over a heap of bodies, their blood staining the creature's forearms. The cartoonist deliberately chooses a poisonous animal, amphibious and cold-blooded, a reflection of Veber's view of Kitchener's savage nature, nationalism and policy; he is subhuman, at home uncivilised. The appeal to the unconscious psyche is instinctual: Kitchener is a brute murderer and Veber wants the viewer instantly to reject the British general, especially his words. The War Office's caption is reiterated to underscore the refutation of the validity of those policies in the 'Proclamation' of March 1901 behind the toad. "The Transvaal war is over and the land is peaceful and that I have arrived without much bloodshed" (NA, WO32/108 and 8037). Veber powerfully uses Kitchener's own words juxtaposed to the image to reveal the contradiction between the General's statement and the actual treatment of the Boers.

Pakenham also paints a picture of Kitchener as unsympathetic to the Boers's plight. The clearance "hardly held much interest for Kitchener's far-ranging but narrow-angled mind. Administrative problems of this kind, involving civilians, always bored him" (Pakenham, 2004, p.494). Pakenham also writes of Kitchener's policy U-turn on taking women and children into the camps as the death toll rose. "No doubt the continued 'hullabaloo' at the death-rate in these concentration camps, and Milner's belated agreement to take over their administration, helped changed Kitchener's mind [some time at the end of 1901]" (*ibid.*, p.461). Yet in another account, Pakenham notes that Kitchener spent weeks looking after and feeding a young starling rescued from a chimney, organising a 'drive' when it went missing only for it to be found up another chimney (*ibid.*, p.539). Thus, especially for Veber, aristocratic disdain and military hypocrisy of British high command served as an example not to be followed as a symbol of manhood.

The Anti-Hero as Moral Victor: Kruger The Boer Leader

Veber's heroes, though shown old, enfeebled and almost dead in 'Le Vieux Kruger' and 'L'Épave' [Plates 48 and 49], are human and invested with civilising ritualistic poses. 'Le Vieux Kruger' shows Paul Kruger as a modern Atlas, but bowed under the weight of a world made unfamiliar to him thanks to the British. Links to classical mythology transform the man into a super-being; the ultimate accolade in claims of civilisation and lineage. 'L'Épave', on the other hand, is a sympathetic portrait of a fallen giant, his broad shoulders finally crushed into the Dutch sand. Kruger as a type of anti-hero acts in these cartoons as a symbol of human frailty but strongly invested with moral superiority. An intriguing psychological effect of these cartoons induces a feeling of pity for the poor old beleaguered hero, abandoned and dying far away from his homeland. There is no doubt that Veber intended to stir up a sympathetic reaction.

'The masters of this man's world'- The Ordinary Soldier (Pakenham, 2004, p.506)

Kitchener expected well-drilled, healthy soldiers to carry out his energetic plans. In 1901 he was sorely vexed when his battalions gradually went home on leave; the ill-trained and unmotivated replacements could not move fast enough for the weekly drives, nor could they provide sufficient protection against the leaky blockhouse lines. The ordinary soldier in Sambourne's 'Christmas on the Veldt'- [Plate 50] is intended as a role model standing for virtue, steadfastness and hope in a frustrating war. It is Tommy Atkins, bored in the blockhouses, whom Father Christmas graces with his visit – and the words of Dickens add a further sense of familiarity to the scene for the London readers: all will be well, the image implies.

Gombrich's model applied to this image offers a gentle compression of figures of speech combined with condensation and comparison as the characters celebrate Father Christmas's visit. Sambourne's cartoon, showing a semblance of ordinariness and expected routine, is evidence of the cartoonist's duty to depict the heroic soldier male in a familiar protective role. Thus it is meant to inspire confidence in the rightness of the Imperial mission. Those viewers at home can relate to the domestic scene.

The hero (or villain), according to the Hegelian-influenced academic Alain Finkielkraut (1987), resides also in the ordinary man and exerts a special kind of power when included in cartoons:

"The need for enemies is also a reflection of the yearning for significance in the cosmic scheme, as the need for heroism and self-sacrifice overcomes the limits of individual existence and the mundane cases of the everyday. Thus the individual is absorbed into the larger national identity and shares in the apotheosis of the nation." (Finkielkraut, 1987, p.4)

Dawson (1994) adopts a psychological aspect on his analysis of idealised masculinity embodied in the archetypal soldier hero within Western cultural traditions. He asserts that heroic soldiers have for centuries been central to the notion of British National identity. He points out a shift in apprehension that in the mid- and late-nineteenth century, the heroic masculinity of soldiers became inextricably linked with the rise of British Imperialism, patriotism, manly virtues, and the idea of war as a test and an opportunity to demonstrate manliness.

Losers and Outsiders

How are outcasts rendered? What one man can do to another in the name of responsibility in a war situation can lead to reversed ideas of masculinity in political cartoons. Issues of power and accountability in the hands of the ordinary soldier are executed with

extraordinary results in Veber's 'Le Verger du Roi Edouard'- Plate 51]. The enemies of reason are represented by the terrible effects of war – what one man can do to another to remove his humanity. The soldiers are diminished in size but their power is inversely increased. The image falls into Gombrich's power of contrast category in which figures are deliberately invested with meanings contrary to standard perception, for comic or tragic effect. Veber draws each victim starved, shoeless and lifeless; King Edward's orchard produces bitter fruit as the faceless mass of soldiers walk away. Gramsci's vision of hegemonic dominance is never more starkly drawn as those small imperial troops execute the will of their masters upon their prisoners; the soldiers themselves are the mass dictated to by the military elite. Inevitably, a psychological blow is delivered in this cartoon: the intended reaction is one of primal revulsion and horror.

Kitchener's statement shows his clear disdain for an enemy that refused to engage in pitched battle. Aspersions are cast on their manhood, and their fitness to be classed as those who would "play the game and fight like men" is denied (Pakenham, 2004, p.493). Veber's enemy in 'Les Progrès de la Science' is a highly negative representation of War Office policy about the treatment of POWs [Plate 52]. The War Office issued a statement about the good treatment of prisoners in May insisting that the electric fence "permits the prisoners... the impression of freedom" (NA, WO32/8034). Veber turns on the British in this horrific cartoon of desperate Boer men electrocuting themselves against this 'humane' barrier while the British soldiers look on laughing at the entertainment. Paradoxically, 1901 was the inaugural year for the Nobel Prize awards and Veber reflects his opinion of the progress of Science. The caption's reference to hygiene and science would have resonated with French readers' knowledge of their own turbulent history; the guillotine was considered the most hygienic form of execution in Revolutionary France.

An application of Gombrich's filters determines that this image is primarily one of contrast highlighting psychological tension between large tragic figures and small potent soldiers. Various freedoms and imprisonment are implicit; the dead prisoners are finally free of their suffering but the soldiers are now caged behind their own wire, attached to the 'care' of their charges. The internees are heavily drawn into mangled poses and their fixed expressions directly challenge the viewer, while their tiny captors laugh at the amusement. The cartoon, in moral terms, is unflinching in its criticism of the soldiers' brutality and Veber makes the most of his skills to elicit a sense of appalled fascination with this macabre set piece.

There is also a definite echo in Veber's work of Goya's 'Disasters of War' series (See Appendix F, p.272) where psychological effects of early nineteenth century warfare are made apparent, and the viewer recoils when confronted with grim images of suffering and death. Veber's style of drawing, like Goya's, is harsh and seems to relate to a juxtaposition between the unconscious instinctive 'id' and the conscious super egoistic appreciation of the subject matter. The entire image, in Freudian terms, is united by the viewer's ego that attempts to understand and master their revulsion, and perhaps to do something to ameliorate that suffering.

Ironically, the first full English journalistic report on conditions in the camps came from *The Times* correspondent Leo Amery on 19 June 1901, in which he asserts the camps are showing signs of 'progress', even including English-taught schooling (Amery, 1901, 'The Refugee Camps', *The Times*, 19 June). At home, protests came from Henry Campbell-Bannerman, *inter alia*, conveying his party's opposition to inhumane camp conditions. *Punch* attacked those who did not support the Imperialist imperative. Linley Sambourne pointed out the unpatriotic behaviour of the Boer sympathiser Campbell-Bannerman who in 'Piping Times of Peace' plays an unseemly pro-Boer din on his bagpipes [Plate 53]. Those who like the tune are unmanned and stripped of Englishness: Campbell-Bannerman in a kilt; the Liberal

statesman Sir William Harcourt dressed in a Welsh woman's traditional costume. H.H. Asquith claps his hands over his ears to stop the noise.

Protests and questions about expenditure, military blunders and inhumane treatment had been raised in the Commons, as conduct unbecoming to an Englishman. David Lloyd George announced in Parliament that 'the Government have made every possible blunder they could make from any and every point of view' (Hansard LXXXIX, 1901, pp.397-406, Feb 18). In the same paper he illustrated press opinion on the unmanning of the troops in South Africa:

"And what about the Union press? If anything appears in the Liberal press about the Boers, it is said
"What a wild, traitorous press it is!" But take what I have seen in respectable, patriotic journals in London. They have within the last few weeks been pointing out that our troops are war-torn, jaded and with no fight left in them." (Hansard LXXXIX, 1901, pp.397-406, Feb 18)

But what of the unmanning of prisoners? Reports of the state of the internees galvanised Lloyd George and Ellis to intensify their 'Stop-The-War' campaign in an adjournment debate on 18th June 1901. Jean Veber directly attacks the ordinary protagonists of war in a visceral manner. His rendering of soldiers removes any vestige of humanity. Veber prefers to highlight the physical aspects of his enemies; dehumanisation is a tool he uses effectively to demonstrate notions of responsibility and manhood, and the lack of it. Compositions of groups versus individuals emphasise the perceived differences of opinion on soldiers' good and bad conduct in war. 'Le Verger du Édouard VII' is an example of the group or individual setup of a political cartoon. Veber's heroes are mythologized; they must be superhuman or dead to transcend the sheer brutality of the British military male.

Conclusion

Surprisingly, a viewing of the Boer War cartoons show that Sambourne and Veber use similar tools to display notions of masculinity in terms of passive and active responsibility, at

home and in theatres of war, rendered to evoke impressions of pride or shame. They illustrate a full knowledge of the expected standards of gentlemanly behaviour and uncivilised brutishness and demonstrate the full scope of understanding of social mores in male society and dialogue (or lack of it) between nations. They also show in their cartoons entrenched opinions in their impressive range of male posturing in wartime, as Hutchings and Nagel suggest. Nagel argues that the male is intrinsically geared toward the making of nations, following Hobsbawm's notion of inventing traditions. She also notes that constructing such pasts and presents is part of the fabric of nations and borders (by collective commonality). This often leads to disputes at the edges of tolerance, and sometimes to war. Such aggressive posturing may indeed be hard-wired into the male psyche as part of a primitive urge to survive at all costs.

The manner in which Sambourne and Veber's cartoons transport notions of extreme male psychology in wartime is not always a conscious assemblage of symbols, subject and context. Each man draws upon his own cultural frame of reference in order to represent a certain situation according to his magazine's political remit. Finkelkraut understands the image of the hero or enemy in satirical magazines as a process of a social construct and as attempts to secure an avid readership:

"A special place in the construction of the image of the enemy was occupied by the humour magazines and satirical journals, such as *L'Assiette au Beurre* and *Simplicissimus*. The caricatures that such journals published were often far more effective in fixing ideas about the opposite nation in the minds of the readers than the text it contained." (Finkelkraut, 1987, pp.101-2)

There are problems of classification within theoretical structures. Terdiman offers a caveat when applying definitions of hegemonic structure to historical analysis, to attempt to evade 'a totalising abstraction' (Terdiman, 1989, pp.54-55). Thematic political cartoons treated as an adjunct of the history of journalism cannot avoid the 'danger' of Terdiman's abstraction

when they are analysed in context. In dealing with editorial cartoons, we cannot circumvent a tendency toward abstraction when considering polarized topics.

It is impossible to tell if either Sambourne or Veber exercised deep self-reflection while working on their cartoons. However, with the benefit of visual and psychological analytical frameworks it is possible to discern and differentiate two varieties of conscious response to events in the Boer War cartoons, in particular through the use of the male figure. The two types are thus unconscious and subconscious renditions of powerful and powerless men in these cartoons. In this chapter we have compared Veber's violence with Sambourne's sophistication. Veber's work especially shows elements of both primal and learned responses; there is no doubt that he is conscious of the effect he wants to achieve in his assemblages but the way in which he does it is instinctual. An animal rage pours from the page.

Are there questions to be proposed and answered in understanding cartoon hegemonic and counter-hegemonic representation of the *fin-de-siècle* male, and the reader's reaction to them? How the cartoons reflect ideas of potency and mistreatment is apparent in the way that the artists use images of male power, abuse, frailty and death as tools to create fresh re-readings of familiar situations. These readings either support or refute notions of masculine stereotype as it is attached or detached from the idea of national expectations, as expressed in the Kitchener pairing. They also hint at how the viewer could or should respond, subconsciously or unconsciously, to a cartoonist's rendition of the male's role in the Boer War, for example, in Veber's horrific renditions of British treatment of their prisoners.

The impact of Sambourne's visual and textual commentary is more muted than Veber's, but no less artful in the former's subtle execution of notions of authority. Perhaps in terms of image interpretation Finkelkraut is right: but Veber's caption text was an effective and shocking tool used to convey the immense abusive power of the *fin-de-siècle* British male. In

terms of hegemonic and counter-hegemonic theory, the cartoons of heroes and enemies convey certain messages of support and protest; and of strength and weakness. They show the Imperialist male role models and their opposite image; notions of militarism and nationalism; of expectations and criticisms. They make individuals responsible or accountable, and they encourage the viewer to respond accordingly.

Woollacott (2006, p.77) warns against essentialist, economic determinist and nationalist analysis as reliable indicators of imperial purpose; she argues that analysis of assumed and imposed gender roles offer a more complete understanding of the role of ‘cultural imperatives’ in society than that offered by more polarized studies. However, it can be argued that by revising historical events through the prism of gender the analyst faces the ultimate polarized view on definitions and ideologies: that which masculinism is, and that which it is not, as argued by Hutchings:

“The persistence of masculinity as a lens through which war is viewed has much more to do with the formal than with substantive properties with which it is associated. To be possible at all, war requires the institutionalization of a range of beliefs, skills, and capacities, which shift according to context.”

(Hutchings, 2008, p.401)

Thus political cartoons such as Sambourne’s and Veber’s rely on polarized views combined with an adaptation of the truth to create masculinist fictions on war, the institutionalisation of which convey each organ’s particular brand of politics.

The overall effect of Sambourne and Veber’s images provides an extremist comparison on the nature of male power and sense of entitlement in the Boer War. Hegemonic and counter-hegemonic structures are endemic within the context of assessing the role of the *fin-de-siècle* male in the Boer War cartoons of *Punch* and *L’Assiette au Beurre*. Gramscian analysis adds an important perspective of economic and structural interpretation appropriate to the time frame and Gombrich’s pictorial filter system allows for further categorization of types of cartoons

reflecting those structural interpretations. An examination of the cartoons in Freudian terms allows the scholar to appreciate how each artist's drive affects his composition as a uniquely male perspective about war, survival, response and entitlements. More recent analysis from Terdiman, Zeldin, Nagel and Dawson cast fresh angles onto debates about masculinity, psychology and ideas of civilisation. The complexity of their construction in using such types of images transports the meaning beyond mere clumsy jingoism, and into the realm of responsibility and personal affront to the right-thinking male. For the *Punch* male the affront of ungentlemanly forms of Boer guerrilla fighting offended a deeply ingrained English sense of civilisation. For the *L'Assiette* male the offence lies in the inhumane treatment of Boer prisoners. The magazine directly attacks all levels of the military with images invested with seething anger. It also picks out the King and Kitchener for especial ridicule:

"The crucial characteristic that is shared by all masculinity discourses is that they are not feminine. It is the fixed value hierarchy ascribed to masculine and feminine that provides the means through which discrimination between different forms of masculinity becomes possible." (Hutchings, 2008, pp.389-404)

Therefore, 'fixed value hierarchy' may be affixed to inculcated notions of maleness, potency, and responsibility, for good or bad effect. Thus the cartoonists' accusation of personal accountability is the key for understanding each magazine's polemic on types of male authority in war.

In pictorial terms, Gombrich's analysis serves to underscore Hutchings' view as the same image can convey different meanings when approached through selective prisms of examination. However it is important to guard against perspectives that may be overly focused on definitions and ideologies, as these tend to remove the image from its proper context in the magazines. It is equally important to consider the psychological impact of the cartoons' appeal to the male unconscious, and its subconscious psyche towards war. Applied to these publications, we are left with the impression that this form of journalism is potent comment;

Punch being largely supportive of Imperial motives, and *L'Assiette* adopting an outraged and oppositional stance. The fact that so many of the Boer War cartoons use the male form to convey power, or lack of it, demonstrates the importance of cartoons as carriers of editorial and political messages of accountability. It is strong comment and feeling that strikes at the heart of the Establishment.

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CHAPTER SEVEN - Power and Politics of the Female Form

Notions of how the female form was associated with Empire, or not, dictated a sense of power or silent suffering portrayed in each cartoon in brutal and subtle ways, as analysed through Gombrich's six-point pictorial filter system. An examination of Boer War cartoons through Gramsci's theory demonstrates how each composition of the female role represents either an approval of hegemonic structures, or a counter-hegemonic protest against the *status quo*. The two magazines offer a succinct commentary on the use of female form as victor or victim in editorial cartoons at this critical time, resulting in the silencing and disenfranchisement of women in the cartoons.

Gender historian Paula Krebs refers to: "the expanded readership, the shift toward sensationalism and personality and away from parliamentary reporting and exclusive attention to political figures – made it possible for the camps controversy to become news and then force political action" (Krebs, 2004, p.55). In fact the contextual developments that she outlines took place gradually over the course of the second half of the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, political cartoons as a product of the social and historical culture of journalism are emotive conveyors of power and politics, as applied to the use of the female form in the news.

A trace of unease permeates French and British Boer War political cartoons using the female form. The cartoons comprise a firm category of the representation of the female form as victor or victim at this critical time. In particular they convey a strong association between notions of femininity and Empire. Unsettling juxtapositions arise when one compares the notion of womanhood and the use of the female form as a cipher. Use of the female form in the Boer War cartoons informs the scholar on perceptions of historical and political accounts at the time (Allison, 2009, pp.75-104).

The way in which women are represented in contemporary culture has changed but the essential message has not; the ordinary female form rarely represents the metaphor of Country. However, images of women do tend to embody imposed virtues and are as such voiceless. In the press, images or articles on women tend to be representative of caring, nurturing aspects of society; when they do not conform to those normative values in journalism they are worshipped or vilified. They are no longer considered as humans with their own voices and feelings but act instead as media ciphers. This Chapter shows, in terms of cartoons, how two weekly magazines, *Punch* and *L'Assiette* polarize their editorial position about the Boer War through use of the female form. An evaluation of the source material demonstrates how the two magazines' opinions of the Boer War in 1901, function as examples of reflected or rejected hegemonic cultural institutions with reference to women's perceived roles in society.

An understanding of cartoons as historical commentary reveals how interpretation of the use of female figures reflects the publications' attitudes to British foreign policy in the Boer War. A visual analysis of female symbols and metaphors explains how politicising of the female form, including children, as victor or victim, conveys different aspects of moral rectitude and superiority claimed by each publication. Throughout, there will be consideration of various academic approaches to notions of traditional and revised womanhood in the analysis of the Boer War cartoons. Appreciation of a variety of analytical prisms allows an inquiry into notions of womanhood of the time, and how they are made speechless.

Janet Woolf is "concerned with the role of culture in producing, confirming, and maintaining (and perhaps, subverting) ideologies of gender and sexuality" (Woolf, 1990, p.28). She considers that "culture is not a passive vehicle for the transmission of already existing social values and ideologies, but rather that representation participates actively in the construction of such values." Thus in her view, it can be argued that the construction of such ideologies serves

actively to truncate the voice of women in the journalistic reporting of war. The cartoons demonstrate conflicting attitudes toward representation of women as icons of hegemonic domination or counter-hegemonic protest. It can be posited that women are essentially made voiceless, though their forms are highly politicised in cartoons; and as such are pawns for a political magazine to state its position in the media.

The source material of fourteen cartoons is drawn from the body of forty-five drawings. Eighteen of the total body contain images of the female form; this is evidence of the flexibility of the female form as a device to convey meaning. The selection of the final fourteen reflects the power of these images to convey various interpretations of these magazines' editorial slant imposed on the events of the Boer War.

Seemingly incongruous placement of figures in odd situations in cartoons also transmits messages to the audience. Gombrich's study of cartoons is heavily invested with Freudian psychological perspectives; his approach is appropriate in the appreciation of the representation of women in the cartoons. Gombrich's view augments the perspectives offered when analysing cartoons in the context of the history of journalism. While it seems that some analytical perspective of political cartoons may offer different perspectives on cartoons as a system which can be understood as a product generated by its social and historical context, it is appropriate to apply Gombrich's cognitive system in conjunction with Gramsci's theory to the *Punch* and *L'Assiette* cartoons as reflections of the media's power over women in this man's world. An analysis of Linley Sambourne's 'Requiescat!' serves to demonstrate the efficacy of Gramsci's theory and Gombrich's models combined with its historical context.

Queen Victoria died on 21st January 1901 aged 81. She had presided over a country that had become (through military, economic, industrial and diplomatic growth) the most powerful nation on Earth. When she died, her subjects took stock of their supreme position and saw

nothing to disabuse them of their perception. Linley Sambourne's *Punch* portrayals of the female form demonstrated an entrenched view of Britain. They represented her sense of place in the world as an important role model.

This is a reflection of the way in which the English Victorian saw his/her position in the world; and there were defined grades of importance accorded to each country. These symbols of nations are clearly not meant to be realistic. All are draped and statue-like Caucasians, save India, which is the only representation of a non-white, native or black woman slumped on the bottom step. Note the appropriation of Cape Colony as a white female. The Royal standard backs the home nations who hold hands; England, Scotland and Wales are arranged as the three Graces with Ireland a little aloof. All others are separated from direct contact by stiff architecture, the psychological aspect of which underlines political, societal and geographical distances from home and the male gaze.

Sambourne's England in the 'Requiescat!' [Plate 54] cartoon is of course an invention of an idea of Empire; it is also a rare example of the ordinary female form as a National symbol. The Gramscian hegemonic structure of the domination of ideas and culture (not just of trade, military might and Government) is supported to great effect in the 'Requiescat!' cartoon of January 1901. The cartoon also supports two of Gombrich's categories of pictorial analysis; condensation and comparison of nations and women: natural metaphors which in that light highlights England as the most worthy. Nine women represent the nine most important countries in the British Empire. England in the centre dominates the others and leads the mourning posse. She is flanked by Scotland, Wales and Ireland on her right; supported by Australia, New Zealand, and the Cape Colonies on her left; and she is underpinned by Canada and India. The caption in the imperative tense enforces a sense of power. A nobly proportioned woman is dressed with classical drapes; she stands over her subordinates and thus represents the sovereignty and authority of the British Empire. The one woman who this cartoon

celebrates is absent figuratively: but Queen Victoria looms silent and immense. This illustration is a piece of propaganda under all the sorrow; this England is a symbol of self-interest (her grief is greater than that of other nations), moral superiority and also racial superiority; the one dominating the many and maintaining the *status quo*, a classic example of hegemony in action. Patriarchal *status quo* asserted, *Punch* and Sambourne mean to comfort the grieving Empire with these familiar tokens.

Jean Veber has no such illusions about the dead Queen. Mrs Kruger, wife of Boer President Paul Kruger, died on 20th July 1901 in South Africa. She had been too ill to travel with her husband into exile the previous year. Plate 55 shows Queen Victoria in Hell: an example of French anti-British propaganda. On the side of the angels stands Gezina du Plessis, Mrs Paul Kruger. Conversely, Queen Victoria is being dragged down into Hell, armed imps scooting towards her; but the 'Worthy Mrs Kruger' is told not to expect an apology from 'la reine cruelle'. However, both women are silenced. All the dead in Heaven are Boers. God and Christ wear perplexed expressions and are seated on a bench. The composition is executed with fury.

Ambiguity is a vital part of the cartoonist's armoury in which s/he conveys an informed opinion on that particular idea of nation with a complementary second message, an unwritten comment. This operates on the basis that such a definition of Empire is, by and large, a preposterous expression: s/he describes it as what it is patently not.

In 'Her Worst Enemy' [Plate 56], Sambourne implies that the Liberals compromise 'Peace'. In this instance a liberal Pro-Boer literally blasts 'Peace's' ear with a trumpet belting out a 'Stop the War' tune. This tune might indeed sound rough to a conservative magazine. This is a jibe at David Lloyd George's 1901 pro-Boer speeches and sympathies, and also implies he does not know how to treat a lady, let alone 'Peace'. Sambourne restricts his satire

to a coolly distant commentary on internal politics and sometimes a restrained interpretation of the enemy's attack on the delicate lady 'Peace'.

L'Assiette uses the female form to aggressively lampoon notions of the enemy. Comparatively, *Punch* and *L'Assiette* square up to each other in their interpretation of 'Britannia'; the former adopting a noble and rather masculine figure; the latter subscribing to 'Britannia' as an agent exhibiting extremes of bawdiness, ridicule and incompetence.

Naomi Wolf's argument in *The Beauty Myth* (1991) supports Gramsci's theory of hegemony; her book, which claimed that the fashion and cosmetics industry, dominated by men, dictated how women should look, forcing them to strive for a state of impossible, male-imagined, perfection, supports the Victorian and Edwardian ideal of 'womanhood'. In questioning aspects of interpretation in these cartoons, tensions between traditional notions of femininity and male responsibility for her care arise when the female form is re-presented as a negative symbol. What emerges is a rather more fragile, vulnerable and complicated version of womanhood.

For example, the Empire is not, as drawn by Sambourne, a woman draped in classical robes and coalscuttle helmet ['A Rift in the Clouds' - Plate 57]; nor is it Veber's fat bawd baring her behind adorned with the face of King Edward VII [Immodest Albion - 'L'Impudique Albion' - Plate 58]. The Empire is symbolised in these forms under a kind of common consent, however the cartoonists seek to underwrite or subvert an idea of Imperial policies by arranging their symbols after their particular fashion; Sambourne's through nuanced poses and texts and Veber's invested with destructive savagery. These differences recur in the main through the particular editorial slants of the cartoonists' respective organs.

The last of the images in the Transvaal issue 'L'Impudique Albion' caused censors to ban it unless it could be altered or modified for subsequent 11 reprints due to its popularity,

according to Robert Goldstein (1989, pp.251-252). No less than 3 alterations were made (see Figure 9), each one showing an incremental increase of an appearing skirt to cover Britannia's bare rump. Like 'Marianne', this 'Britannia' is categorized as belonging to Gombrich's political bestiary; in addition it is an unflattering political portrait of the King. Female figures as victims can be used to show a kind of moral superiority. Whether women are shown as victims of simple savage behaviour or outright violence depends on the message a cartoonist wants to convey.

The Weaker Sex in Cartoons

In other cartoons showing metaphorical symbolism of the female form, Sambourne has 'her' put in a compromising position, offended and wronged by the rudeness of other nations. 'Peace' is an English lady. In 'A Vain Appeal' [Plate 59, March 27th 1901], nuances of Sambourne's satire play through unlikely juxtapositions. After abortive peace talks at Middleburg between Kitchener and Botha three weeks earlier, female 'Peace' stands tall, noble, white and voiceless set against the noisy shadowed Boer brute that refuses to speak with her. Sambourne's understanding of the ambiguity of definitions is subtle and masterly, and he plays them to the full effect of ridiculing his target, the enemy.

Female figures of grace representing metaphors of peace and nations were designed to convey a sense of vulnerability. In editorial cartoons the device of victimhood stood for the result of indefensible action. *Punch*'s brutish Boer offending 'Peace' with his refusal to parley is to be seen as an offence to proper British sensibilities. In Gramscian terms Sambourne's female is problematic; hegemonic culture represented as a symbol of weakness is an appeal to the right-minded *Punch* reader that she needs rescuing: thus she drums up support for the war.

Support for anti-British sympathies are encapsulated in *L'Assiette's* wraith-like figure of Hope rescued from British attentions by a mythologised hero Christiaan De Wet in 'The Elusive De Wet'. Christiaan De Wet was the Boer rebels' leader in West and North Transvaal. He organized a highly effective guerrilla warfare campaign against the British, picking off their cannon and supplies from the rear-guard column. He also led several raiding parties over Kitchener's imposed military lines, making nonsense of military decrees. After the 10-28th February 1901 'invasion' of the Orange River cordons and subsequent retreat to his homeland north of Bloemfontein, De Wet seemed to have slipped through the net again, and frustrated British High Command. Kitchener, exasperated by De Wet's elusiveness, organised the building of more blockhouses along the military lines to trap the Boers. He also ordered the Boers' farms and crops be burned to the ground.

Leo Amery in *The Times* supported the British notion of De Wet's seemingly futile efforts to outwit Kitchener's men. On 1st March he wrote:

"There are indications that De Wet intends moving eastwards with the object of attempting to break across the line from Norval's Point and Naauwport. Colonel Thorneycroft is pushing from the west, while several columns are ready to meet the enemy in every direction." (*The Times*, 1901, March 1, p.5)

Five days later, De Wet's force of 2000 men were described as making a vain attempt to cross the [Orange] river, and was apparently "moving along in a hopeless manner..." (*ibid.*, March 6, p.6).

De Wet was a persistent thorn in Kitchener's side and Veber celebrates a very masculine hero mythologizing the commander and investing him with superhuman powers [Plate 60]. The composition comprises De Wet on a flying horse, with 'Hope' riding pillion, set above a hellish and ruinous volcanic landscape. War Office propaganda comments on De Wet eluding capture for the third time and refusing to surrender; the report attempts to undermine the Boer

cause by implying that De Wet is mad to try to rescue 'Hope'. Veber turns the tables on the War Office in his use of their statement, thus making more powerful the notion of a moral victory over the British. Veber depicts De Wet as a contemporary Bellerophon astride Pegasus rescuing 'Hope' from the fiery domain of the Chimaera; he is ready to drop the molten lead from his gun into the beast's throat. Veber's unseen fire-breathing Chimaera represents Kitchener and his scorched-earth policy in the Transvaal. Gombrich's filters describe Veber's design in a dizzying combination of categories; figures of speech, political portrait, political bestiary, natural metaphors and the power of contrast result in a powerful rebuke to the British.

The Price of Imperial Warfare: The Wretched Victim

By January 1901, 26,551 deaths were reported in the camps, of whom 22,074 were children under 16; a fact that Krebs states is "more than twice the number of men on both sides killed in the fighting of the war" (Krebs, 2004, p.33). Krebs, in her review of the press as "an agency of social control", identifies a problematic relationship between the press and coverage of the concentration camps. The problem is that the issue of the camps "touched on factors as diverse as beliefs about the social position of women, about race, and about class as well as economic, military, and political factors" (*ibid*, p.36).

These beliefs as transferred into Veber's camp series are not so much about women's position in society; Veber positions them as outcasts from the society of a supposedly sophisticated imperial army and as victims of its imposed social control policy (Plates 61 and 62). Veber shows in the camp series the brutal treatment meted out by the British Army to Boer women and children. His use of these figures of pity is intended to provoke anger. The women are shown oppressed and beaten in compositions of verité-style reportage. Veber combined the images with captions to devastating effect; the captions were translations of quotes from War Office reports, press coverage of protest debates in Parliament and Emily

Hobhouse's accounts. Yet none of the cartoons allow the prisoners to have a voice of their own. The two examples below represent direct British cruelty toward Boer women, an indefensible act depicted in Veber's camp series cartoons.

The pro-war *Times* editorial of 16th January 1901 reported that "though the death rate is distressing, but unless the people cooperate with the authorities, there is little hope..." Adding supremacist vitriol to the mix, it continued, "The Boer habits of men and women alike are indescribably filthy."

Emily Hobhouse offers a very different view of the camps and their internees. The forty one year old Hobhouse sailed to South Africa and visited certain camps in the South Transvaal from January to April 1901. She wrote the following account of the women and children from Springfontein camp on 4th March 1901:

"Some are scared, some are paralysed and unable to realize this loss [of freedom and dignity], some are dissolved in tears, some mute and dry-eyed [and] able only to think of the blank penniless future – some are glowing with pride at being prisoners for their country's sake. A few bare women had made pelluants (*sic*) out of the rough brown blankets – one had on a man's trousers – nearly all the children have nothing left but a worn print frock with nothing beneath it and shoes and socks long since worn out. These we must leave – it is hopeless." (Hobhouse, 1901, WO32/8008-10)

In the Bloemfontein ('Fountain of Flowers') camp, just outside the judicial capital of South Africa, there were only thirteen latrines for 3,500 people, and no water or soap supplied as they were deemed to be luxury items. Horrified at poor camp conditions and exasperated by extremely poor management, she angrily ascribed the suffering of inmates to "crass male ignorance, stupidity, helplessness and blundering." She continued: "It is such wholesale cruelty and one of which England must be ashamed" (van Reenen, 1984, pp.49-50). Thus England is singled out by one of her own citizens, and female too, as the perpetrator of appalling acts of cruelty. Hobhouse's fight continued when she returned to

England. She set about lobbying those in power, in particular Minister for War John Brodrick with whom she had a private consultation and requested permission to return to South Africa (NA, WO32/8061). She was refused and, angered by the Government disinclination to engage in her humanitarian cause, published all their correspondence in *The Times* of 27th July. Hobhouse was perceived as a troublemaker. Brodrick, in ignoring Hobhouse's appeals, directly caused her to publish her findings; Veber's cartoons mirror her anger at the Government's intransigence. The design, set-up and tone of the camp series suggest Veber had some quite detailed knowledge of both the War Office Reports and Hobhouse's published letters from the camps.

The soldiers gradually fade out of the picture and disappear altogether leaving a simple and cynical account of human misery [Plate 63]. The camp series are unique in the issue insofar as they represent a reportage-style account of the appalling conditions women had to endure. Use of caption is the only device which makes these images into satirical cartoons capable of conveying an editorial slant: a category Gombrich describes as the power of contrast, but here used in reverse; the *verité*-style drawings deflating the rhetorical text below. The style of the drawings is photographic; Veber must have seen images of the camps in the newspapers and attempted to convey a sense of unbearable suffering in his work. He rejects hegemonic power and underscores his disgust with the Empire in the use of Kitchener's own disparaging statement of Boer women who he claimed weren't interested in caring for their children, as stated in Plate 63's caption above. The implication was clear: the Empire stated that the women, little better than animals, deserved inhumane treatment. Yet he wrote in Plate 64 the next caption - how charming the tents were. Veber juxtaposes this quote with an image of a mother and her dying children.

Veber's cartoon underscores Emily Hobhouse's contrary evidence to the state of the women's camps to that boasted by Kitchener et al. Hobhouse wrote of the parents' plight:

"... A six-month-old baby [is] gasping its life out on its mother's knee. Next [tent]: a child recovering from measles sent back from hospital before it could walk, stretched on the ground white and wan. Next a girl of 21 lay dying on a stretcher. The father ...kneeling beside her, while his wife was watching a child of six also dying and one of about five drooping. Already this couple had lost three children." (National Archives, WO32/8061)^{xxxix}

Children: Extensions of The Female Form

The forgotten victims in the Boer War, children, comprise the largest demographic of death in the camps. Around 26,000 children under the age of 16 died in the camps.^{xl}

Children are in this case to be viewed as extensions of the female form. They represent notions of virtues such as innocence, curiosity and tender grace. They are also ciphers of vulnerability, fragility and recipients of brutish treatment: they have no voice. Jean Veber includes the War Office's own report as the caption to his cartoon to great effect. Reading the report from a British slant, the officer means to convey improvements in sanitation that had resulted in a lessening of child mortality in the camps. Veber dispels this illusion with this caption attached to a particularly harrowing image of a gesturing starved Boer woman atop a pile of dead children [Plate 65]. He invests the figure with anger and outrage about the British Army's cavalier attitude to such deaths in the camps. The death rate rose as Kitchener continued his double-sweep of the Transvaal, herding the Boer women and children before him into the camps.

The Silencing of Women

The two organs' version of the price of war provides differing versions of the death of a Nation's independence. Veber's 'Le Silence' [Plate 67] is a shrouded female figure in a field before a ploughshare: she holds her finger to her lips. This unusual rendering of Death in female form is unsettling: yet another disenfranchised figure politicised by men. A quiet front page to the twenty-one-page issue hides a clamorous and shocking report on the effects of the concentration camps on powerless and voiceless women. An impression of noise is related to male-led military strategy and consequent news reporting in the papers. The implication is that the food harvest will not come; another more grim harvest of Boer bodies is reaped, collected specifically by a female who was traditionally deemed a nurturer of life.

Punch's Volume CXX frontispiece [Plate 66] covers the death of that nation's struggle. Britannia standing on the Transvaal flag is an overt display of the British use of force. Here, the use of the female form symbolizes the lethality of Britain's foreign policy. Britannia is a figure executed with somewhat masculine physique and she embodies a hegemonic policy, suppressing (regrettably) the injudicious and uncultured Boer.

In 'Le Royaume Uni' [Plate 68], Britannia strides across the united kingdom of the dead; this is a comment on the causes of suffering and death exerted by British foreign policy and warfare around the world. The skeletal figure is barely recognizable as female; Veber adorns the form with a dress and shopping bag as well as a helmet and spear. This cartoon challenges the hegemonic status of the Imperial skeletal Britannia who strides across the flat plain of dead soldiers drawn from the British Empire. It is unusual to see Veber's work sympathising with the British on any level, especially soldiers who are a popular target, but Veber buries himself in the cartoon in solidarity with his fallen brothers, thus transferring the meaning from satirical to cynical comment. He includes himself as defeated by death in female form; he is interred bottom right.

No captions adorn these cartoons – Gombrich and Gramsci’s analytical perspectives highlight the fact the female forms are left voiceless for the reader to transpose his or her own notions of the price of war and its relation to ideas of female roles: a very public and silent death. Krebs’ genderised view of the Boer War is based on mainly literary sources. Her strongest arguments on the position of women as representations of notions of Empire emerge in her exposition on the role of the press as a so-called arbiter of the position of women in society as applied to coverage of the concentration camps. The London press, she asserts, had no humanising strategy about how to cover disastrous stories of Imperial mismanagement of the dying women and children, except in extreme terms. The pro-war press such as the *The Times* and *The Daily Mail* treated the Boer women as dirty and uncivilised; the pro-Boer press, notably the Liberal *The Daily News* (and of course the provincial *The Manchester Guardian*) treated the news of the internees as victims ‘en bloc’, supported by publishing huge death rates.

On the other hand, *Punch* and *L’Assiette* do not represent the women in this way: Sambourne uses the female form to support hegemonic rule; Veber’s cartoons contain a counter-hegemonic humanitarian protest. Krebs says nothing about political cartoons, surely the most vivid indicator of political extremes in the press as documenters of women’s issues? In *Punch* and *L’Assiette*, the female form as a paragon of virtue appears in the Boer War cartoons; these enforce a claimed hegemonic and moral superiority. The use of the female form as victor or victim also enforces protests against the consequences of such policies. Symbolically, a moral victory is gained in the examples ‘The Elusive De Wet’ and ‘Her Worst Enemy’; here perceived weakness triumphs. Where female individuals are concerned, very little is said about them. Queen Victoria is symbolic of Empire, for ‘Good’ or ‘Bad’; Kruger’s wife represents ‘Good’; only Emily Hobhouse’s words emerge as a female symbol of protest against barbarity.

Conclusion

Analysis of these cartoons permits interpretation of each organ's notion of power, hegemony, and perceived abuses. Within the history of journalism, a comparison of the 1901 Boer War cartoons of *Punch* and *L'Assiette* orients the magazines respectively as conservative and radical socialist organs. In the cartoons we see certain problems of representing women in terms of the strong association between women and Empire and reporting actual events.

Sambourne does not address the problem of women and children in the camps. He would have been aware of the mounting furore in the papers and in Parliament after Hobhouse's return from South Africa. Sambourne does however show a marked preference for highlighting subtle nuances of expression, in particular flagging up domestic political divisions on foreign policy. His is not a direct commentary on the plight of the women. His use of the female form in *Punch's* Boer War cartoons is chiefly allegorical, and employed with whimsical but learned detachment to score a particular liberal unionist and conservative point. He demonstrates the arcane art of literary symbolism to drive his point home. To offend the Empire is a savage act against propriety and decency; this savagery will be tamed with Britain's political or military force to quieten the enemy at home or abroad. Sambourne's reticent cartoons never really challenge outrages committed by the British Army in South Africa.

Veber's female figures are imbued with a greater range of politicised meaning than those of Sambourne. He is highly critical of the Boer War's policy effects, especially of inhumane treatment meted out to women; he mounts an angry counter-hegemonic challenge to the great suffering caused by British Imperial power. He does not stint in showing us the victor and victim and he uses the female form to focus on the human side of the story. However he does not give his female figures a uniquely female voice.

Gombrich's six-point filter system combined with Gramscian hegemonic perspectives further expands the analysis. The resulting effect of looking at cartoons of the Boer War containing the female form is, through the perspectives described above, that the women therein are utterly silenced and disenfranchised. The empirical evidence indicates that females themselves did not wield political power; the actual women drawn in Veber's 'Les Camps de Reconcentration' (Plates 62-65) are exemplars of victimisation. Queen Victoria and Mrs Kruger in Veber's 'La Reine Victoria' [Plate 55] are given no voice of their own; their silent passivity toward their alternate fates captioned for them by a remote voice, perhaps that of God or the Devil. Other female forms, such as Veber's 'Marianne' and Sambourne's 'Requiescat!' (Plates 33 and 35 respectively), are metaphorical forms politicised beyond their expected societal boundaries in a way that removes them further from stating their own case.

Kipling said the Boer War taught the British 'no end of a lesson'. Jean Veber's Boer War cartoons teach the British a lesson about the importance of humanity. Nowhere is it more evident that those lessons are taught through the use of the dehumanised female form in Sambourne and Veber's cartoons. Notions of how the female form is associated with Empire, or not, dictates the sense of victory or victimhood portrayed in each cartoon in brutal and subtle ways. Each composition represents either an idea of hegemonic structures or a counter-hegemonic protest against the *status quo*. Stylistically, the cartoons convey a difference in house style; *Punch* is cold and controlled, whereas *L'Assiette* is angry and impassioned.

The two magazines offer a succinct commentary on the use of female form as victor or victim in editorial cartoons at this critical time. Pictorial journalism allows an editorial freedom of execution and immediate reception denied to written articles. Shocking images evoke powerful reactions. The large death figures quoted in the press did seem to encourage a rising public interest, which was then duly reported in the form of Hobhouse's report, subsequent

Fawcett Commission and in newspapers themselves. By appropriating the nature of imperial or Boer women as victor or victim, and putting men's words into their mouths via captioning, the cartoonists effectively silence women. The female voice and form in editorial cartoons are subjugated to the magazines' aim of representing aspects of politics and power, either supportive of or critical of Empire. However, more research is needed on the analysis of the individual female portrayed as victor or victim, in past and contemporary political cartoons, as conveyors of editorial opinions on certain issues, for example, the Suffragette movement or National elections. In other words, it is important to document how women find their own voices through the press.

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CONCLUSION

This thesis has demonstrated that headline representation of Sambourne and Veber's 1901 Boer War cartoons in *Punch* and *L'Assiette au Beurre*, calls upon a blend of artistic exaggeration and a critical version of the truth that is created in relation to support and protest about power and decision-making. It also points to the magazines' views of their own epistemological position which includes their attempts to persuade their class of readers to attitudinal change, or to enforce the *status quo*, into thinking about the war as it dragged on. The cartoons reproduce social notions about what kinds of readings and reactions – responsibility, accountability, suffering, anger, strength, powerlessness, belonging, rejection – are intended for their publications' readership's responses to events in South Africa and at home. The argument also highlights tensions and dialectic set up by a comparison of Sambourne and Veber's cartoons, that each group of images reflect the level of editorial independence from hegemonic institutions. Sambourne is entrenched in coolly promoting Imperial policy whereas Veber has the freedom to execute his brand of angry opprobrium.

Each Chapter, especially the data analysis sections, supplies various aspects of enquiry, firstly through the narrative of the Boer War discussing the nature of cartoons as vehicles of ridicule and rage and, secondly, across it, determining points of contention about the concepts of Nationalism, Imperialism, Patriotism, and the expected notions of male and female roles in relation to the war. Crucially, the use of Gombrich's six-filter analysis within the three-part model shows different and sometimes contrasting interpretations of the same subject matter, all of which adds meaning to cartoons as entities that are more than reportage or hyperbole.

Interpreting Boer War Cartoons as Primary Sources

It is a requirement to invert the analysis of the interrelation of traditional textual Boer War sources in order to understand cartoons as evidence of war historiography. In avoiding using simply the word as a starting point and focusing in on the complex interplay of visual and textual culture, this thesis posits that the Boer War cartoons transmit more than the mere hyperbole *suggested* by bold headline claims of supremacy or inferiority immediately projected by *Punch* and *L'Assiette*. Instead, a deeper investigation into pictorial culture of this type reveals fine feelings and points about the war's protagonists, antagonists, Imperialism and foreign policies. Gombrich's six filters are essential tools to use in both classifying obvious traits and detecting nuances of mood that add colour, meaning, opinion and depth to readings of the so-called 'first media war'.

Findings

A summary of research findings falls into three main areas: 1) the appropriateness of the comparative study in dealing with cartoons about war, 2) the usefulness of the three-level approach as a contextual framework and 3) the challenging of certain existing interpretations about political cartoons. The comparative research method offers the scholar opportunities to explore two or more viewpoints on the same topic. Thus, it is an effective analytical technique for appreciating cartoons representing subtle and extreme headline polarisation about the war.

In order to assess the overall findings we should return to address the original questions. Firstly, the set of cartoons certainly reflects a specific aspect of the context of the history of such images. Cartoons in small print run magazines like *Punch* and *L'Assiette* are designed to offer often trenchant opinion allied with artistic inventiveness, which enabled them to telescope respectively conservative and outrageous stances about the Boer War. Thus the analysis of differences represented in the magazines indicates their position within the theoretical

constructs of the history of journalism, in particular through the hegemonic and counter-hegemonic analytical frameworks. Secondly, variations in representation do show differences of opinion on certain topics. An examination of variations in representations exhibits how cartoons act as provocative commentary on British foreign policy, and how the use of the female and male form functions as a version of each publication's polemic on the Boer War. Thirdly, specific illustrative styles also reveal differences in the editorial approach of the two magazines. Sambourne's classically inspired and multi-layered coolness is indicative of Punch's controlled and disapproving tone toward perceived wrongdoers, for example the recalcitrant Boers or the Liberal 'Stop the War Brigade'. Veber's strong sweeping lines echo his Parisian milieu's fascination for fresh aspects of artistic exploration, but most importantly his angry bold images drive home strong ideas of evilness or inhumanity, of Kitchener as a vile toad. Gombrich's six-point filter provides an essential tool, and applied to qualitative and quantitative data produces evidence of measurable results to convey those differences.

The three-level approach allows the comparative study of Boer War cartoons to be understood in its historical context, gauged as symbolically powerful through Gombrich's six-filter cartoon analysis, and also appreciated in terms of Gramsci's hegemonic theory. The approach also has the potential of transportability; it allows a range of questions to be asked and answered, as demonstrated through the data analysis chapters using political cartoons as a primary source. This permits the scholar to transpose the three-level approach onto political cartoons that can convey a rich vein of information otherwise visible only as a palimpsest of contemporary opinions about war. Other enquiries about political cartoons in context may benefit from its academic structure.

Chapter One set out the historical, journalistic and cartooning context and asked what differences there are in the two magazines' presentation of people and events in the Boer War.

The argument that headline representation, as a combination of enhanced artistic representation and a version of the truth, shows the magazines' support or undermining of Imperialism connected to the war, and subsequently the artists' individual reactions to the war's events in 1901.

The 'Role of Cartoons' Chapter found that cartoons are far more important in demonstrating opinions about an event than newspaper illustrations, because cartoons as a construct convey meaning and knowledge other than a simple relation of an occasion. A detailed examination of these images indicates fine division and appreciation of concern about a remote war. These cartoons reached the drawing rooms of the upwardly mobile middle class readership and, thus reflected, cartoons can have the effect of insinuating concern and discussion about power, politics, suffering and leadership. They still do so today.

Chapter Three establishes the comparative weakness of cartoon analysis via a thorough review of cartoon history, visual history, journalism historical analysis including historiographical perspectives, and editorial images of the Boer War. An extensive search of the literature shows the considerable strength of art analysis and a surprising lack of cartoon analysis. Though Press (1981), Seymour-Ure (2007; 2003; 2001; 1996; 1977) and Greenberg (2008, pp.181-198) *inter alia* tackle aspects of cartooning, it is only Press who conducts a survey of political cartoons in any depth. Unfortunately, he does not theorise about the cartoons' place in newspapers or magazines and concentrates his data analysis on American cartoons.

Other aspects of the search assimilated thematic scholarship about the Boer War - war images, historical, art historical or visual culture appraisals and so on - none of which in isolation analysed in depth how editorial cartoons operate as conveyors of exaggerated historical opinion about the Boer War. The sheer amount of historical material available about

the Boer War in books and articles and newspapers leads to potential historiographical problems of perspective. Historiographical sources indicate how difficult it is to clarify what is the 'correct' history of any given event. The Boer War's contemporary recounters and later historians, for example, focus on whatever perspective is dominant at the time of writing their analysis depending as they do upon what interested or preoccupied society at a given time.

Contemporary accounts are invested with appropriate nineteenth century concerns about Imperialism and foreign policy (Rosny, 1902; Amery, 1900-1910, *The Daily Mail*, *inter alia*). Rosny and Amery's accounts of the Boer War are in essence jingoistic tracts drawing very heavily on current mass circulation news reports. This is not surprising, as the expansionist nineteenth century British and French critics tended to view the history of their countries as one of the triumphs of civilization over barbarism, and conversely criticised the other nation's policies. Each of these views provides contextual opinions for setting *Punch* and *L'Assiette's* claims about the war into certain perspectives.

Chapter Four's quantitative data analysis supports Gombrich's six part filter cartoon classification system and underscores the qualitative findings in understanding cartoons as conveyors of extremes and subtleties of opinion about the Boer War. The three-part approach shows how a political cartoon can be most usefully appreciated in context. Therefore the most effective method of comprehending editorial cartoons is to set them in their historical context, assimilate them into Gramscian theory as applied to journalistic and imperial hegemony, and interpret them through Gombrich's art historical expertise.

The data analysis chapters also explored data qualitatively and quantitatively through a range of themes, each centred on using Gombrich's filters and Gramsci's perspective in historical context, and examined types of enhanced historical truths about the war. Chapter Five demonstrates that extreme or subtle ideas, projected in political cartoons about foreign

policy outlined in editorial cartoons, provoke strong reactions. These reactions, artistic and political, are most effectively seen in Veber and Sambourne's cartoons. Sambourne and Veber differ vastly in graphic styles but their adherence to firm nationalistic tropes present in the cartoons indicates their intent to underwrite or upset the *status quo*. Though Sambourne had attracted censure in previous work^{xli}, in 1901 he was not on the receiving end of legal edicts as was Veber. *L'Assiette* drew the eye of the French authorities when Veber's 'L'Impudique Albion' appeared in *L'Assiette*'s September 28th 1901 edition causing a diplomatic flurry of outrage. Despite the authorities' instructions to make decent Britannia's bare bottom, the magazine continued to flout the law and used the scandal to attract the crowd's attention and thus drive up their sales from the usual 40,000 a week to 250,000 copies over a three week period. Thus this example shows how a small circulation magazine can upset the *status quo* and turn a possible distribution disaster to their advantage.

In this Chapter, multiple and competing narratives are always clashing, intersecting, and overlapping, in a never-ending process of conceptualising and reconceptualising the national self in the works. Therefore *both* Nationalism *and* the knowledge of the nation's history, and of the war are contested and variable, in addition to the reader's interpretation of the image. Benedict Anderson's (2006) concept of 'imagined communities' has some bearing on projections of a nation at home and abroad from its *patria*. Cartoons, as visual projections of support for or protest against nationalist and imperialist foreign policies, are powerful critical tools for creating or deconstructing either a hero or an enemy. Thus thematic analyses about subjects as varied as psychology, gender, linguistics, and race *inter alia* supply lines of enquiry that serve to underscore the cartoonists' headline representation of the Boer War, but in a limited fashion. Thus cartoons, as an amalgamation of artistic amplification and a type of historical truthfulness, are more than mere hyperbole.

Chapter Six shows how the role of the fin-de siècle male in cartoons is either responsible or accountable, depending on which perspective the cartoonist adopted. Traditional views of the male are enhanced by an appreciation of Edwardian and French views about imposed male roles in the Boer War, respectively presented as a powerful protector of civilization or an unconscionable murderer. Sambourne and Veber's cartoons are also explored as a type of masculinist myth-making though the work of Woollacott and Nagel. Inverse ideas of morality in the cartoons indicated that 'weak' figures are indicative of moral strength, a feature that may be seen as morally superior to British atrocities. A psychological analysis considered the nature of the warring male's psyche as depicted in the cartoons, and how the cartoonists' work shows evidence of awareness of their own unconscious and subconscious processes. The findings determined that Veber's set are inspired by acts of primitive rage, as opposed to Sambourne's cool disapproval.

The cartoonists' ideas about male responsibility and accountability are examined in hegemonic and counter hegemonic terms. The enquiry shows fluidity about assumed masculine roles according to whether *Punch* or *L'Assiette* agreed or dissented with the topic in hand, and a similar initial finding was seen for the Chapter on feminine roles. However, each discussion goes into finer detail about whether these roles are imposed or superimposed by the state, the publication, the cartoonist, or a combination of all three. This begs the question of whether gender represents one distinct characteristic: and analysis of men in one chapter and of women in the next categorically finds against simple stereotyping. Men can be portrayed as physically weak but also shown as morally strong – for example, the electrocuted Boer prisoners in 'Les Progrès de la Science' [Plate 52].

The final data analysis section, Chapter Seven explored ideas about the role of the female figure in Boer War cartoons. Political cartoons about the role and fate of men and women do impinge on a reading of how information was communicated relating to the Boer War. Notions

of how the female form, associated with Empire or not, dictate a menacing sense of power or silent suffering are portrayed in each cartoon in brutal and subtle ways, as analysed through Gombrich's six-point pictorial filter system. Boer War cartoons, examined through Gramsci's theory, establish how each composition conveys either an indication of hegemonic structures or a counter-hegemonic protest against the *status quo*. The two magazines present a succinct commentary on the use of female form as victor or victim in the Boer War images, resulting in the silencing of women in the cartoons. This Chapter also extends the enquiry about gendered representation in cartoons. Though most of Sambourne and Veber's cartoons use the female form to convey their magazine's point of view, the initial response appealing to actual female strength is a false one. These notional cartoon women are silenced, especially when used as a cipher (Allison, 2009, p.75). The findings indicate an inherent conservatism about women as holders of power – only the reappropriation of the female form as powerful symbols of Empire invests a cartoon with invective.

Gender historians do not add much to the debate about cartoons as conveyors of positive or negative male or female role models in the Boer War, as they tend to focus tightly on definitions and ideologies that may remove the cartoon from its actual context. But they do provide insights of how images of war may be viewed as a masculine phenomenon, how power is wielded over the weak, and the perceived role of women. Kimberly Hutchings addresses masculinity "as a lens through which war is viewed" and says that this is associated with a formal rather than a substantive character: "war requires the institutionalisation of a range of beliefs, skills and capacities which shift according to context" (Hutchings, 2008, p.401). In some ways this statement is correct but when this view is applied to cartoons, it cannot convey the range of what such images may say as criticism about the characters and events about [any] war. Paula Krebs's (2004) examinations of gender and representation in the Boer War refers to the power of the newspapers but wrongly assumes that the rise of the mass press occurred

rather suddenly in the twentieth century, whereas in fact it arose gradually throughout the nineteenth century. She says nothing at all either of artisan magazines or their powerful images. Often these images were considered too rude to include in mass press publications (Shaya, 2004, pp.47-8).

Gombrich's assertion is germane, namely that political cartoons do operate as frames for the systematisation of versions of reported and historical knowledge, insofar as they make use of various rhetorical devices that attempt to capture the essence of an issue or event graphically. Thus political cartoons direct discursive possibilities for making interpretations of types of historical phenomena. They aspire to justify the basis upon which some things can be said and others held back. In the case of the Boer War, the visual image, its caption and the accompanying label or 'punch line', provide pointers to the preferred meanings and the types of consequences that each artist felt may have legitimately resulted from the activity, issue or event being depicted.

Quantitative Analysis

Superficially, in quantitative terms, the body of forty five images from *Punch* and *L'Assiette* (each group comprises half of the total) supplies a balanced number of views, though their representation of aspects of the Boer War varies respectively at forty per cent and one per cent of each magazine's entire 1901 output. This differential in fact is due to each magazine's structure and convention: *Punch* in that year follows several topics of interest but Imperialist worries about events in South Africa were the primary concern of the publication in that year, whereas *L'Assiette* is primarily concerned with exposing layers of society to scrutiny, ridicule and comment of which Veber's Issue 26 is a tiny but notable part.

An examination of quantitative data on the cartoons' content reveals evidence of Sambourne and Veber's approaches to representing British and French aspects of Imperialism

and Nationalism with respect to the war. Veber, for example, uses sixty per cent more male figures in total of the whole selection – fifty eight per cent more British - than Sambourne in order to convey and emphasize strong opinions about aspects of British *sangfroid* and cruelty; Veber also shows anger at perceived French connivance in British and South African Foreign affairs. Thus expressed numerically, Veber invests his one issue with considerable force as he criticises privilege and corruption.

Comparatively, Sambourne is seemingly more modest in his use of figures, preferring to create compositions of one or two figures and layering them with miscellaneous items such as furniture, flags, weapons and animals that signify subtle comments about Britain as a wronged Empire. His style is calmer than Veber's and the *Punch* cartoonist's confidence in the ruling and military class is apparent. Sambourne has the luxury of time to consider and can manufacture his images as events unfold: an advantage over Veber's furious kick against the Establishment. Unconscious signals about assumed status and power also appear in the cartoons in the form of the sheer number of soldiers, victims and weapons that appear in some images, especially in those that follow reported atrocities or certain scheduled events. These indicate the cartoonist's sense of his place in the world and duty to inform his public. For example, Veber and Sambourne both cover the meeting of the Tsar, King Edward VII and the Kaiser in Paris, but each presents a recognisable authority figure in his own fashion.

Qualitative and quantitative analysis in this comparative study shows stylistic and conceptual differences in the artists' concept of the war, and also demonstrates similarities in their understanding and use of tools in their 'Cartoonists' Armoury' (Gombrich, 1956). The main difference resides in Sambourne's conservative and Veber's radical headline renditions of the war, as adopted by their parent publications. Similarities occur in their use of tools, as defined in this thesis by Gombrich's six filters, over the whole selection of images, even

though they mean to convey vastly dissimilar opinions about British, French and Boer dealings.

Quantitative data using Gombrich's filters as definitions shows that, though they both employ the full range, Veber inclines toward using the more savage of the tools to drive his point home - political bestiary, natural metaphor and the power of contrast - as opposed to Sambourne's inclination for the subtler range of commentary relying mainly on figures of speech, condensation/comparison and portrait caricature. Thus, although they hold such divergent opinions, comparative findings demonstrate they appear to understand a set of rules by which they conduct their headline exposition of aspects of the Boer War.

Boundaries

Sambourne and Veber's work about war often displays exaggerated traits as debate on polarised opinion, and with polarisation comes extreme portrayal. A critical look at *Punch* and *L'Assiette au Beurre*, shows that organs covering propaganda in cartoon form represented problems of classification and interpretation, especially acute in images invested with a political angle telescoped upon them. Some images demonstrate radical pictorialization of opinion about national symbols, while others are attached to historical and journalistic context but show polarity of international positioning. The thesis has shown how the differences between two groups of cartoons combining an exaggeration of a story and a critical version of the truth onto a single image are understood as conveyors of each magazine's complex editorial slant on the serious business of war. It is important to make sense of political cartoons in context, and those of Sambourne and Veber about the Boer War in *Punch* and *L'Assiette* make an interesting test case for exploring the possible breadth, depth and limits of academic enquiry about such images. The interdisciplinary nature of this study has determined that cartoons need to be understood in terms of a conjunction of scholarship of cartoon, art and journalism history,

visual and media theory, and also in historiographic terms. Thus, this three-level approach is a useful tool with which to place editorial cartoons in context.

On Speculation

There are several areas and themes for future studies about political cartoons. There is a need for more analysis about audience/readership relationship to cartoons in newspapers and artisanal magazines, either as mass or specialized productions. More work needs to be done on the role of cartoons as indicators of national points of view on warfare, in particular as trackers of emerging opinions about events in the past or in the present. It is interesting that this type of image is normally appropriated as a useful illustrative adjunct to textual analysis. We need to ask why this is so when high art has been analysed in a variety of sophisticated manners for centuries to very useful effect. Perhaps the fact that the majority of academics remain reluctant to consider cartoons as primary sources – or at all - may account for this space.

Another obvious area is the study of cartoonists and their methods. Biographical accounts abound; however, an academic consensus of types of cartooning in themes may serve to establish a canon that is more than a list of names. Continuing on thematic studies, the role of children as figures of meaning in cartoons is a possible rich seam to explore. Political cartoons definitely should be analysed and discussed more within its natural field of study, journalism history, and certainly in terms of debating themes of continuity and change in communication studies. Philosophical reflection on the nature of cartoons in context and their meaning is also little considered. Undoubtedly there will be aspects of editorial cartooning to explore in the future in context with journalism: the nature of cartoons, the role of cartoonists, economic aspects such as publication of such images connected to sales, and a notion of the target audience. Running parallel to such telescoping of opinion about the war onto visual forms is a palpable sense of the reading public's sensitivities, daily consumption of news and graphic styles; research could be conducted into the field of social history. It is also possible to

conceive of measuring the humorous and serious effects of political cartoons in a study. This could involve a group research paper by which responses to a set of cartoons could be measured in terms of seriousness/funniness/message transportation by viewers, and converted into charts to support a paper's theory and position.

The area is still being mapped out. The only adjustment we need to make is to understand a methodology on how this type of image operates in symbiosis within its proper historical and journalistic context. Hence the three-level approach provides a useful framework. Though their interpretation can be assisted through a synthesis of approaches to understanding cultural references, we must firmly claim that political cartoons, and their extreme forms of comment of societal power struggles in newspapers and magazines, belong in the field of communication studies.

While there is a general conservatism in scholarship about the use of cartooning symbols to portray certain meanings, the surprising aspect is that both cartoonists subconsciously recognise, by the way they represent a form of reality, how a combination of artistic tools, described in this thesis in Gombrich's terms, and a grasp of their magazine's editorial slant, can serve to undermine, support or exaggerate the effect of elite power systems with regard to the reported progress of the Boer War. Thus the nuances of commentary from Sambourne's pen and brutal sweeps of Veber's brush demonstrate that their cartoons are indeed headline representations of the Boer War that are a combination of artistic exaggeration and a critical version of the truth, and a reflection of *Punch* and *L'Assiette*'s respective editorial remits. In particular Veber's more violent cartoons seem to act as a prophetic vision of the great mass crimes of the twentieth century. Moreover, the cartoons are subtle compositions under a bold initial impression, their insinuated undercurrents supporting the publications' attempts to persuade their readership to attitudinal change or support the *status quo*, and thus the cartoons drive the hammer blow home.

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APPENDICES

Please find Appendix A in separate volume

APPENDIX A

List of Plates

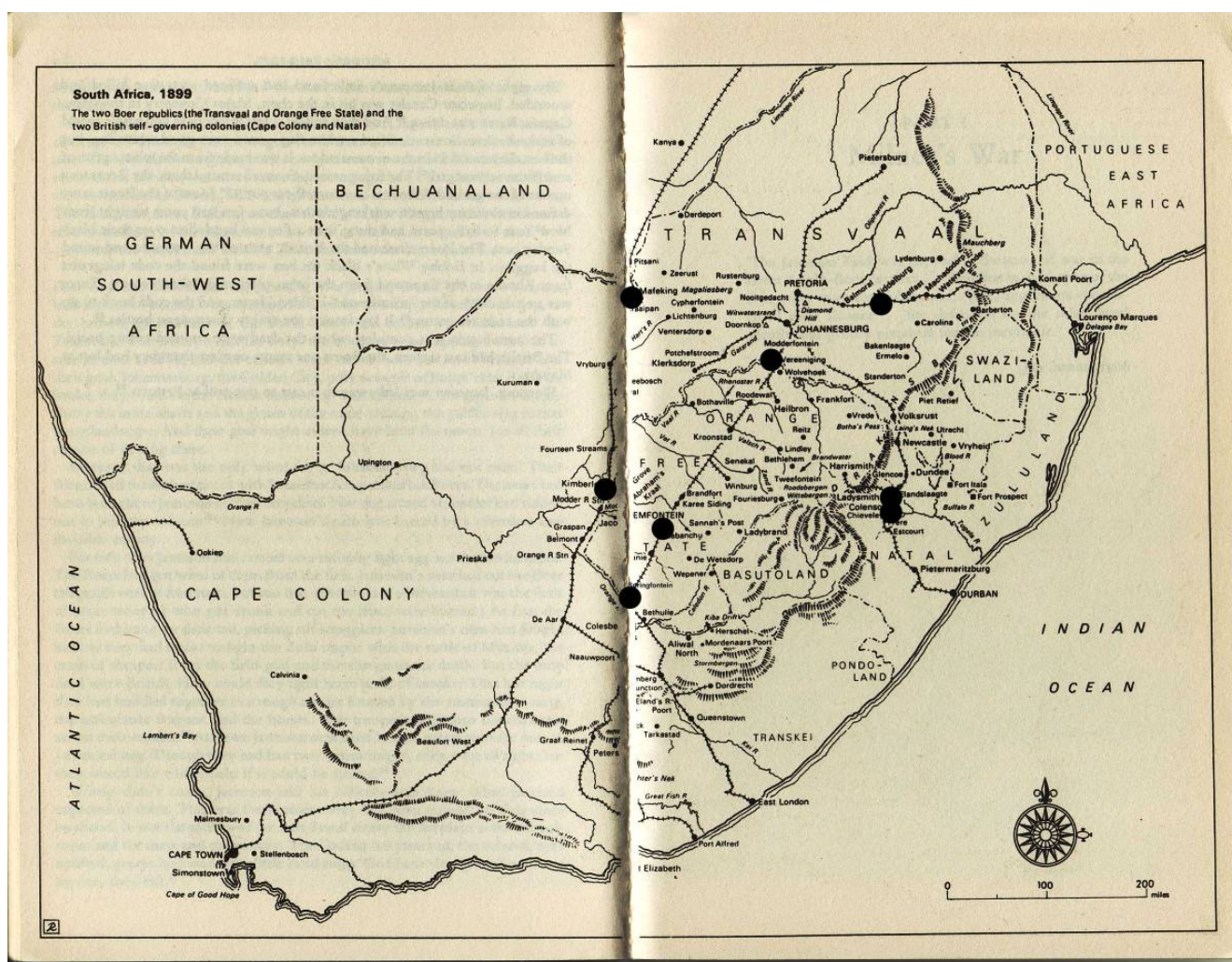


Plate 1 Map of South Africa 1899 (Pakenham, 2004:6) Print (25 x 20) ²

² The large black markers are places specifically referred to in this thesis. They are, from top left clockwise: Mafeking, Vereeniging, Middleburg, Ladysmith, Colenso, Bloemfontein, (Orange River), and Kimberley.



Plate 2 Linley Sambourne (1891) Self Portrait. *The Magazine of Art*, London. Pen and ink. (19.2 cm x 16.2 cm)

Plate 3 Jean Veber (pre-1914) Self portrait. (Pierre Veber and Louis Lacroix, 1931). Pen and ink. (20 x 14 cm)

J'aurais l'autre
je puis, tout a

C'est pour avoir goûté à l'assiette au beurre de l'Eternel
 Qu'Eve et Adam perdirent le Paradis et l'estime de
 leurs descendants. Nous avons facilement retrouvé
 l'unique et véritable destination des grandes Pyramides:
 elles servaient de moule au beurre des Pharaons.

Les Romains l'ont possédée à leur

l'assiette au beurre

Ah! mes enfants! nous voyons
 nous, à notre tour, sans fermes?... (non,
 pour varier, sans ministère... t'a gueule)

Ah! mes enfants! nous voyons
 nous, à notre tour, sans fermes?... (non,
 pour varier, sans ministère... ta gueule)

Beurre, il faut avoir du lait et pour avoir du lait
il faut avoir des fermes, des vaches.



Lecteurs sous la III^e R.F.

Je sais bien qu'il nous resterait, suprême
ressource, la Préfecture et la Chambre;
mais là, les vaches ne donnent que du
tabac, et là bas elles sont stériles!

Mais alors, dit raton, où qu'elle est donc
l'assiette au beurre, aujourd'hui d'aujourd'hui?
- "Monte là dessus et tu verras Montmartre",
Montmartre, encore Montmartre, toujours
Mont... ah la jambe!

Regarde tout de même, la vois-
tu l'assiette au beurre, la pyramide des
Pharaons? eh ben, elle est là haut, l'assiette
au beurre, sur la Butte: c'est... le Sacré Beurre!

C'est près du mortier
de la Galette, car il faut aussi
du beurre frais pour faire de
la bonne galette.



C'est par là
à la suave bergère un
boulevardier des plus smart -
"Si tu ne me r'file ta galette,
"Au beurre noir j'te passe l'assiette!"

Le meilleur moyen de mettre son beurre à l'abri des
funestes loquaces est de placer dedans un peigne fin
en pour de vrai ou en carton.

Cette petite plaisanterie eut un succès fou sous
l'empire. - "Demandez le peigne crasseux ou le vint

10^c deux sous"

"L'assiette au beurre", pour un journal n'est pas
un titre ordinaire, et me paraît aussi difficile à justifier qu'à
mettre du beurre en broche. Je souhaite, monsieur, que l'assiette soit
un Bernard Palissy et le beurre de meilleure qualité que celui de ma
tartine.

Jean sans beurre ci devant A. Willette

Paris 6 rue du Moulin de beurre



Plate 5 Willette and Veber (1901) Manifesto. *L'Assiette au Beurre*, 4th April, page 2. Lithograph (24 x 33 cm)



Plate 6. Jean Veber (1901) 'Marianne', *L'Assiette au Beurre*. 4th April. The design was taken from Veber's gross representation of 'Marianne' on pages 3 and 4 of the manifesto and repeated on the embossed 'sheepskin' covering for the connoisseur's album. Lithograph (33 x 48 cm)



Plate 7. Max Radiguet, (1906) "Faits divers" *L'Assiette au Beurre*, September 8. Lithograph (24 x 33 cm)



Plate 8. Jean Veber (1901) 'Le Deep Level - L'Honorable Chamberlain' *L'Assiette au Beurre* 28th September. Lithograph (33 x 24 cm)



Plate 9 Anonymous (c1513-1515) 'Le Revers du Jeu des Suysses' France: La Bibliothèque Nationale. Woodcut (18 x13 cm)



Plate 10. Erhard Schoen, (c1530) 'The Devil plays the Monk's head bagpipe' Nuremberg. Tinted and plain woodcut. (20 x 16 cm)



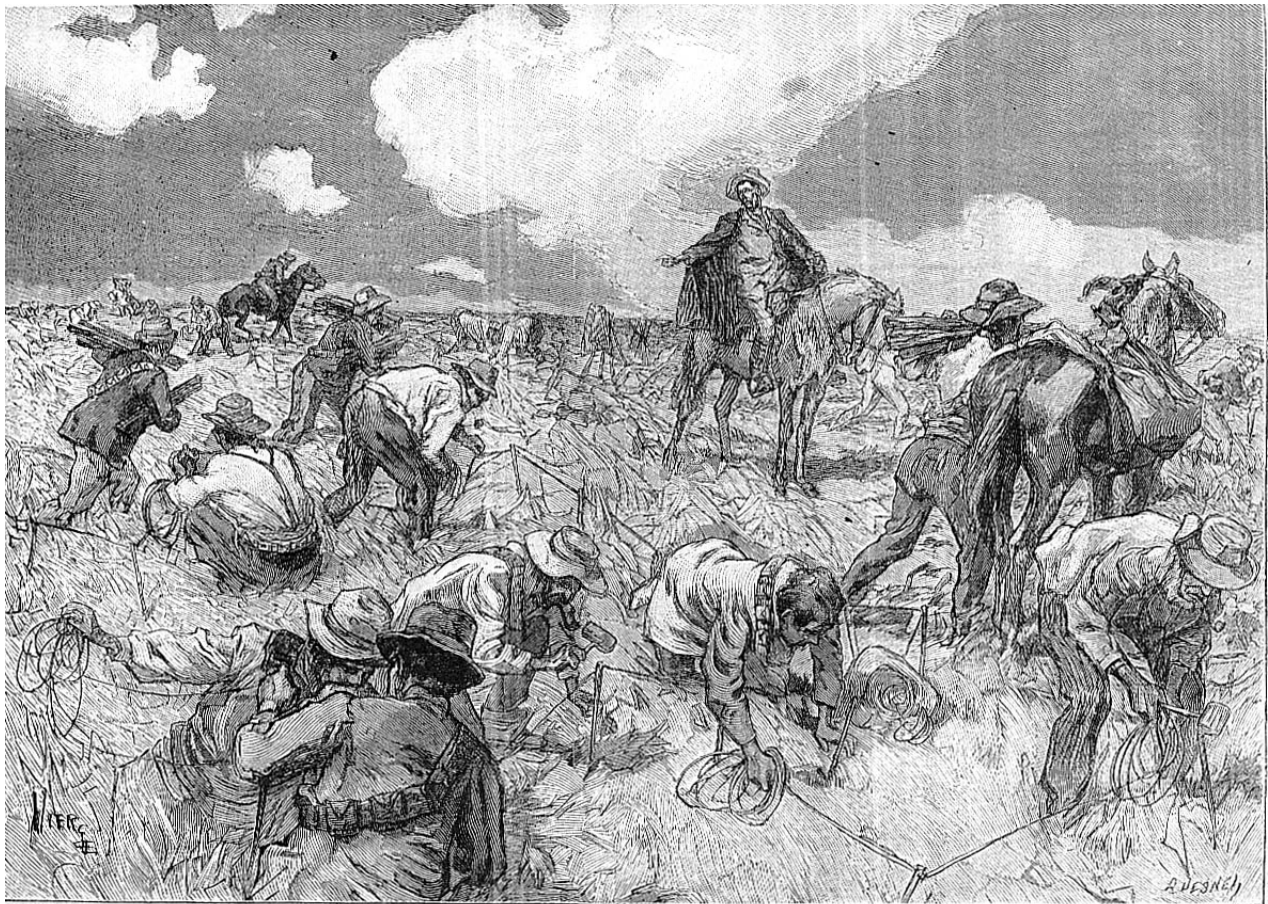
Plate 11. William Hogarth (1754-1755) 'The Election: 4. Chairing the Member' Oil. London: Sir John Soane Museum. Oil (80 x 65 cm)



Plate 12. James Gillray (1791) 'Wierd-Sisters; Ministers Of Darkness; Minions Of The Moon - (They should be Women! - and yet their beards forbid us to interpret that they are so)'. To H: Fuzelli Esqr this attempt in the Caricatura-Sublime, is respectfully dedicated. Published by Hannah Humphrey: December 23, Etching and aquatint, hand-coloured. (24 x 33 cm)

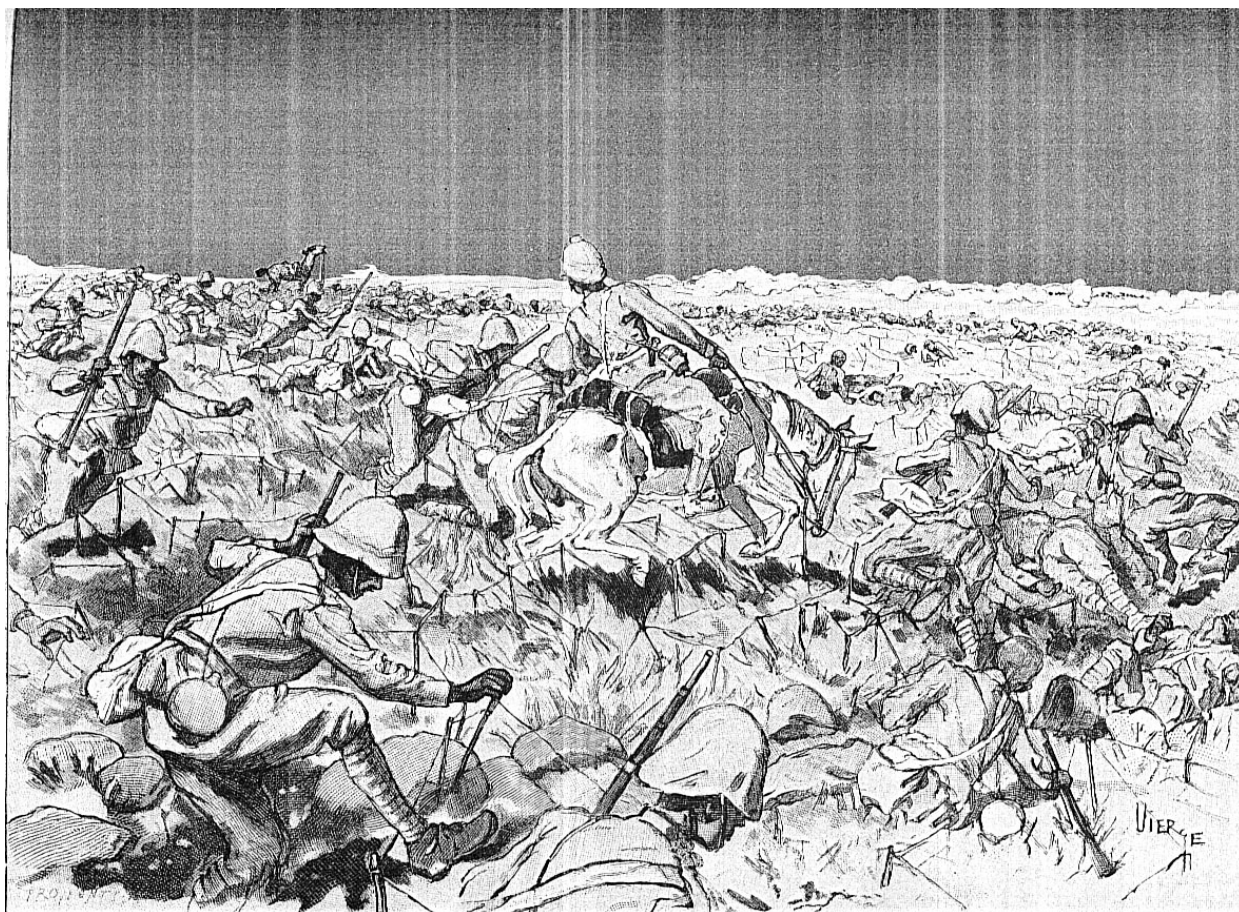


Plate 13. Honoré Daumier (1831) 'Gargantua' *Le Caricature* Paris: BN. Print (24 x 33 cm)



Boers plaçant des fils de fer pour arrêter les charges de l'ennemi...

Plate 14. Daniel Vierge in J-H Rosny (1902) 'Boers plaçant des fils de fer arrêter les charges d'ennemi' p156. Print (22 x 14 cm)



Attaque des Anglais embarrassés par des fils de fer.

Plate 15. Daniel Vierge in J-H Rosny (1902) 'Attaque des Anglais embarrassés par des fils de fer.' p192.
Print (22 x 14 cm)



Plate 16. Léon Gimpel (1901) 'La Revue de Bétheny, près Reims' *L'Illustration* 21 September. Newsprint (24 x 80 cm)



Plate 17 (a) Jean Veber (1901) 'Revue de Bétheny – Le Nuage' – *L'Assiette au Beurre* 28th September. Lithograph (33 x 48 cm)

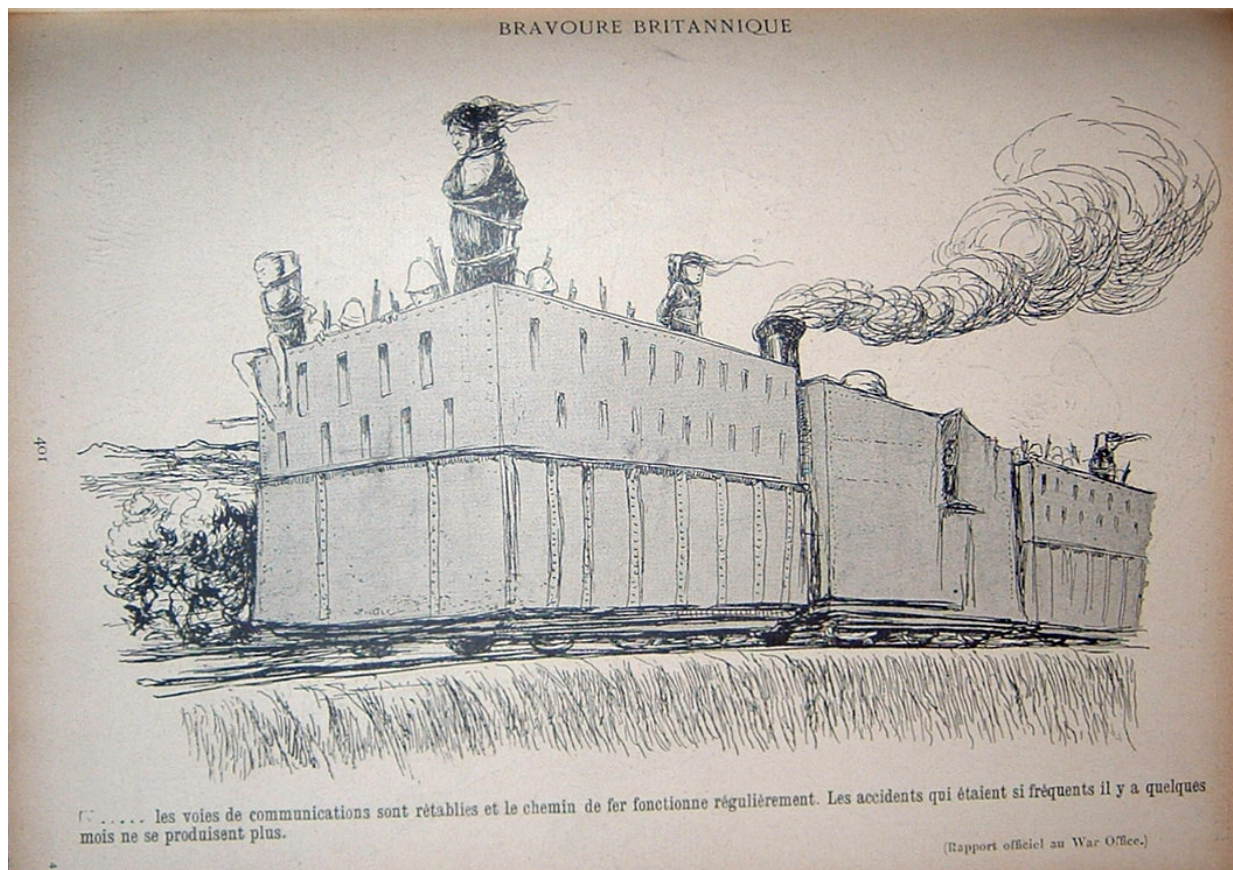


Plate 17 (b) Jean Veber (1901) 'Bravoure Britannique' *L'Assiette au Beurre* 28th September. Lithograph (24 x 33 cm)



Plate 18. Anonymous (1901) 'Édouard VII' *Le Petit Journal – Le Supplément Illustrée* February 10. Colour newsprint 924 x 33 cm0

Plate 19. Linley Sambourne (1901) 'God Save the King!' *Punch* February 6. (24 x 33 cm)

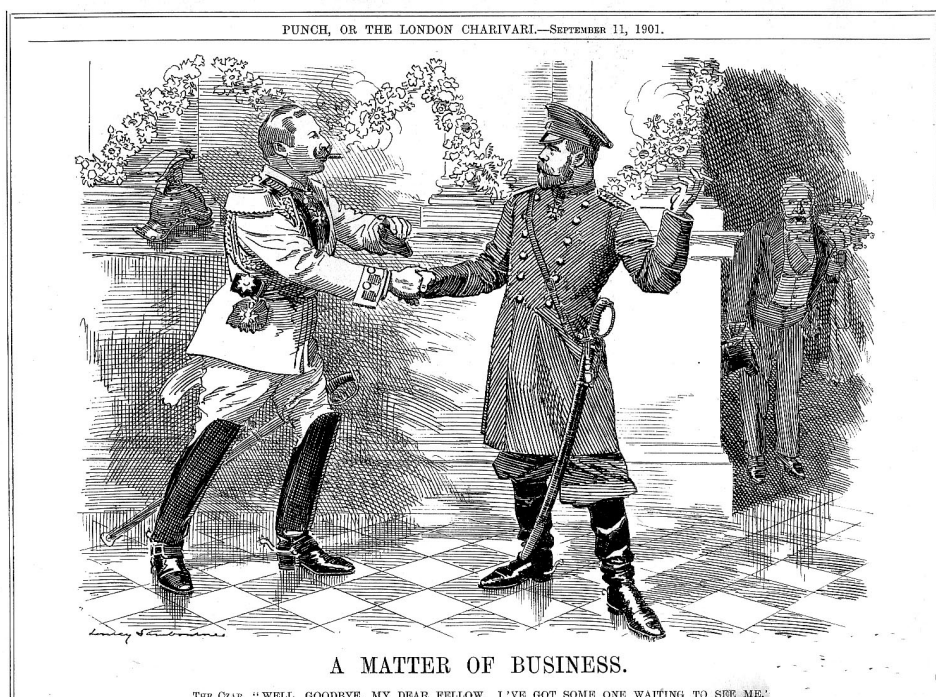


Plate 20. Linley Sambourne (1901) 'A Matter of Business' *Punch* 11 September. Wood-engraving (30 x 24 cm)

Plate 21. Jean Veber (1901) 'Le baiser stérile' *L'Assiette au Beurre* 28th September. Lithograph (24 x 33)

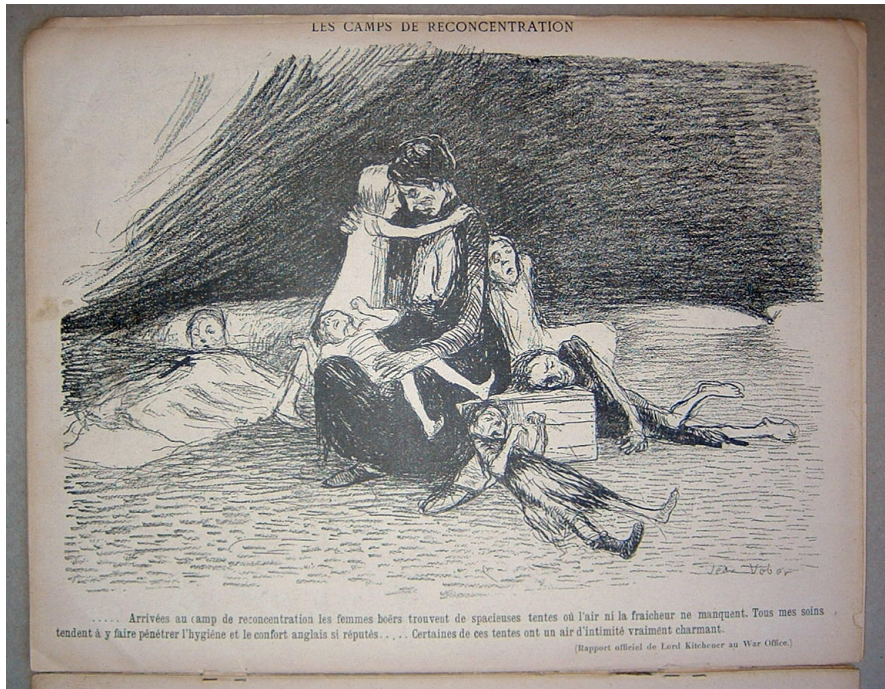


Plate 22. 'Boer Prisoners of War' (1901) *Le Petit Journal*. 20th January. Colour newsprint. Size unknown.

Plate 23. Jean Veber (1901) *Les Camps de Reconcentration* *L'Assiette au Beurre*. 28th September. Lithograph (24 x 33 cm)



Plate 25. Linley Sambourne (1901) 'A Vain Appeal' *Punch* 27th March. Wood-engraving (24 x 30 cm)

Plate 26. Jean Veber (1901) 'L'Insaissable De Wet.' *L'Assiette au Beurre* 28th September. Lithograph (24 x 33)

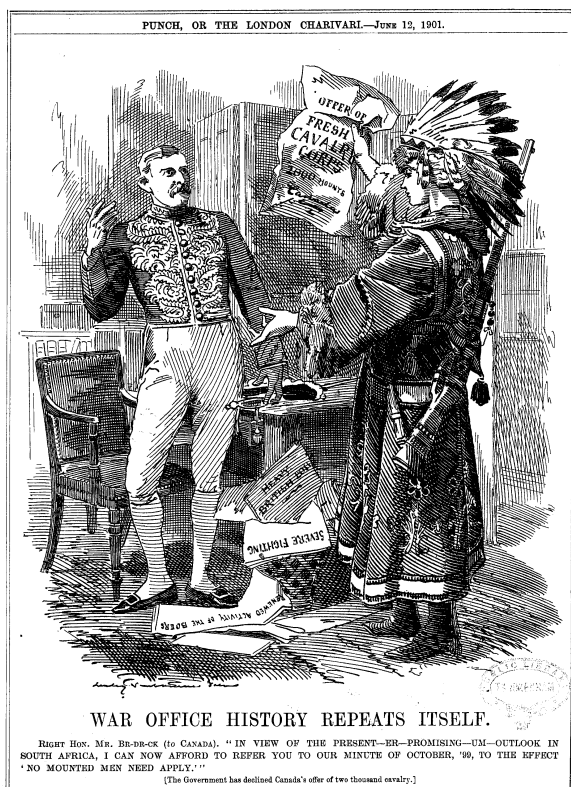


Plate 27. Linley Sambourne (1901) 'War Office History Repeats Itself' *Punch* 12th June. Wood-engraving (24 x 30 cm)

Plate 28. Jean Veber (1901) 'Le Baiser Stérile' *L'Assiette au Beurre* 28th September. Lithograph (24 x 33)



Plate 29. Jean Veber (1901) 'Lord Kitchener' *L'Assiette au Beurre* 29th September. Lithograph (24 x 33 cm)



"Cease Fire!"

Bradbury, Arncliffe & Co., Ltd., Printers, London and Tonbridge.

Plate 30. Linley Sambourne (1901) 'Cease Fire! *Punch* 4th June. Wood-engraving (24 x 30 cm)



Cartoon A



Cartoon B



“PAY! PAY! PAY!”

MASTER JOHN BULL. “I’VE PUT A LOT OF PENNIES INTO THIS MACHINE, AND I HAVEN’T GOT ANYTHING OUT. BUT ”—(with determination)—“ I’M GOING ON TILL I DO!”

[In consequence of the South African War expenditure, Master JOHN BULL has to meet a deficit of fifty-five millions.]

Plate 31. Linley Sambourne (1901) ‘Pay! Pay! Pay!’ *Punch* 24th April. Wood-engraving (24 x 30 cm)



Plate 32 (a) Manifesto detail (1901) *L'Assiette au Beurre* 4th April.



Plate 32 (b) Jean Veber (1901) 'Les Acheteurs de Biens' *L'Assiette au Beurre*. Lithograph (24 x 33 cm)

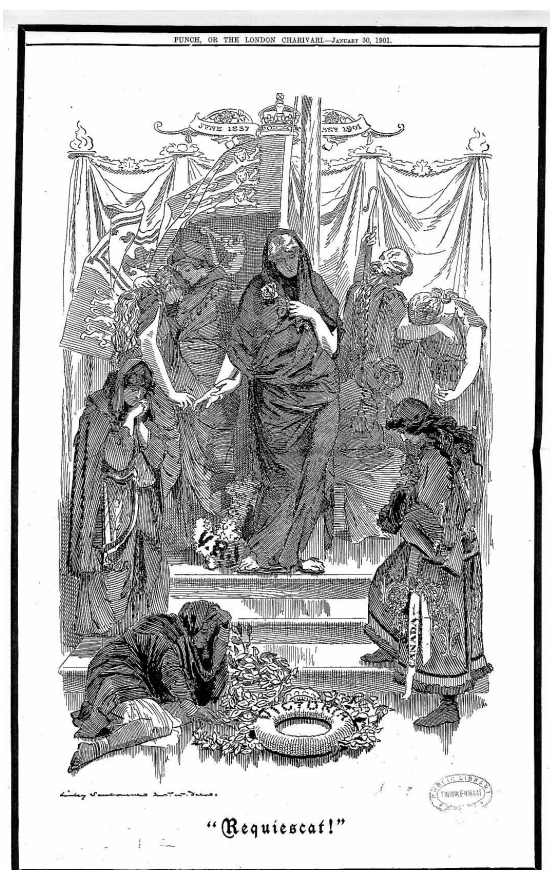


Plate 33. Linley Sambourne (1901) 'Requiescat!' *Punch* 30th January. Wood-engraving (24 x 30 cm)

Plate 34. Jean Veber (1901) 'Le Foudre de Guerre' *L'Assiette au Beurre* 28th September. Lithograph (24 x 33 cm)



Plate 35. Jean Veber (1901) 'Marianne' *L'Assiette au Beurre* 4th April. Lithograph (33 x 48 cm)



Plate 36. Linley Sambourne (1901) 'Pay! Pay! Pay! *Punch* 24th April. Wood-engraving (24 x 30 cm)

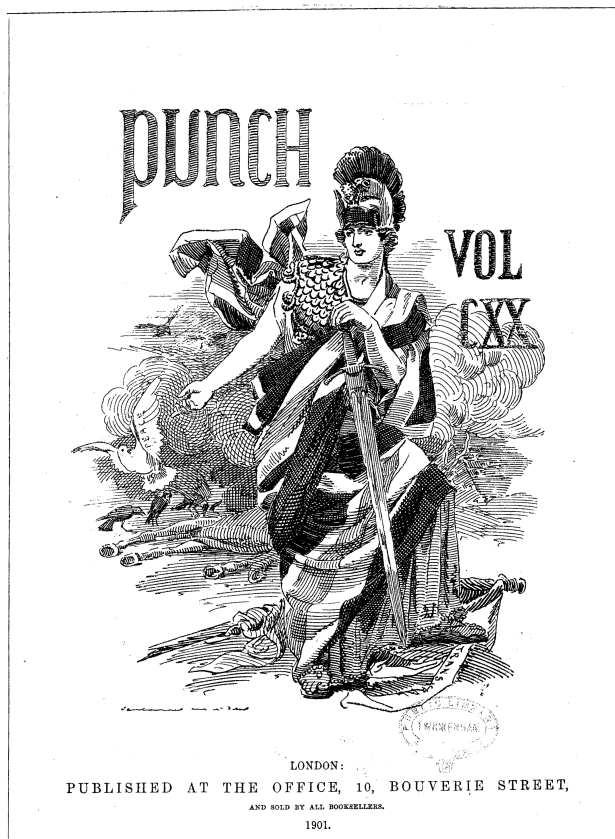
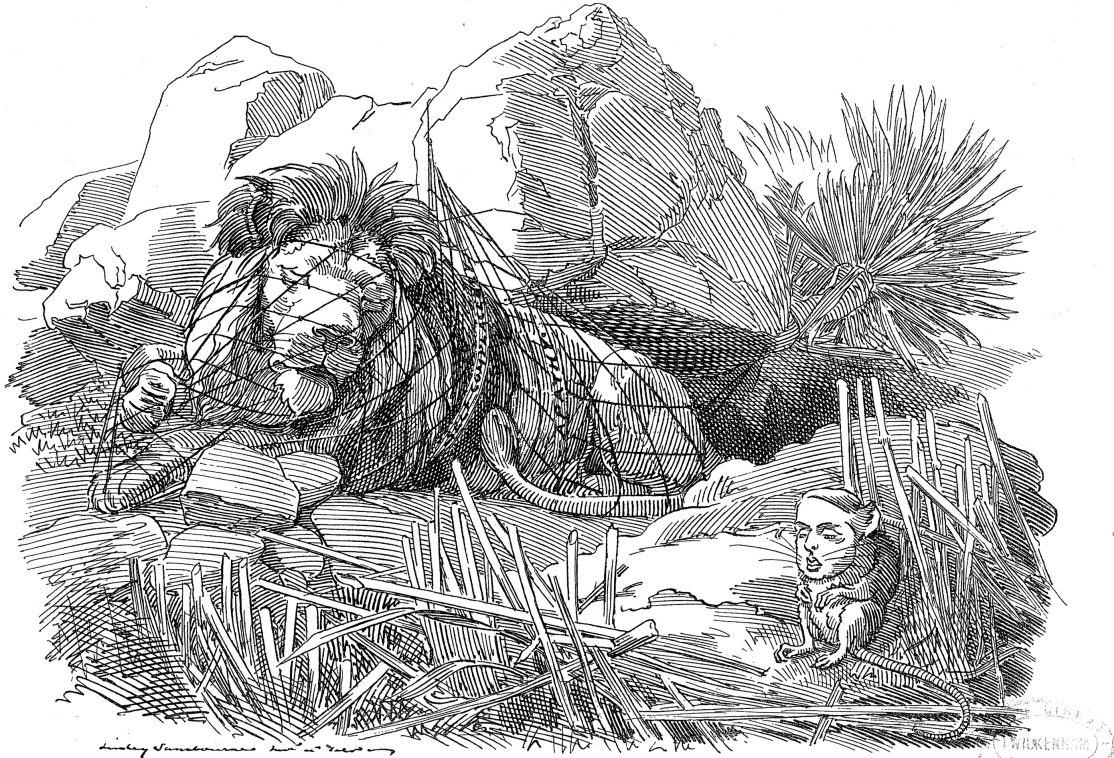


Plate 37. Linley Sambourne (1901) 'A Vain Appeal' *Punch* 27th March. Wood-engraving (24 x 30 cm)

Plate 38. Linley Sambourne (1901) Frontispiece Vol. CXX *Punch* July, Wood-engraving (24 x 30 cm)



SELF-COMPLACENCY; OR, THE DORMOUSE AND THE LION.

DORMOUSE R-S-B-R-Y. "I DARESAY I COULD HELP HIM OUT IF I LIKED. BUT, AFTER ALL, HE'S BIG ENOUGH TO DO IT HIMSELF" (yawns), "IF HE WOULD ONLY WAKE UP!" [Goes to sleep again.]

Plate 39. Linley Sambourne (1901) 'Self-Complacency' *Punch* 23rd October. Wood-engraving (30 x 24 cm)



L'Impudique Albion

Plate 40. Jean Veber (1901) 'L'Impudique Albion' *L'Assiette au Beurre* 28th September. Lithograph (24 x 33 cm)



8th Edition



9th Edition



10th Edition



11th Edition



12th Edition

Plate 41. Jean Veber (1901) Versions of 'L'Impudique Albion' *L'Assiette au Beurre*, No 26, 28th September.

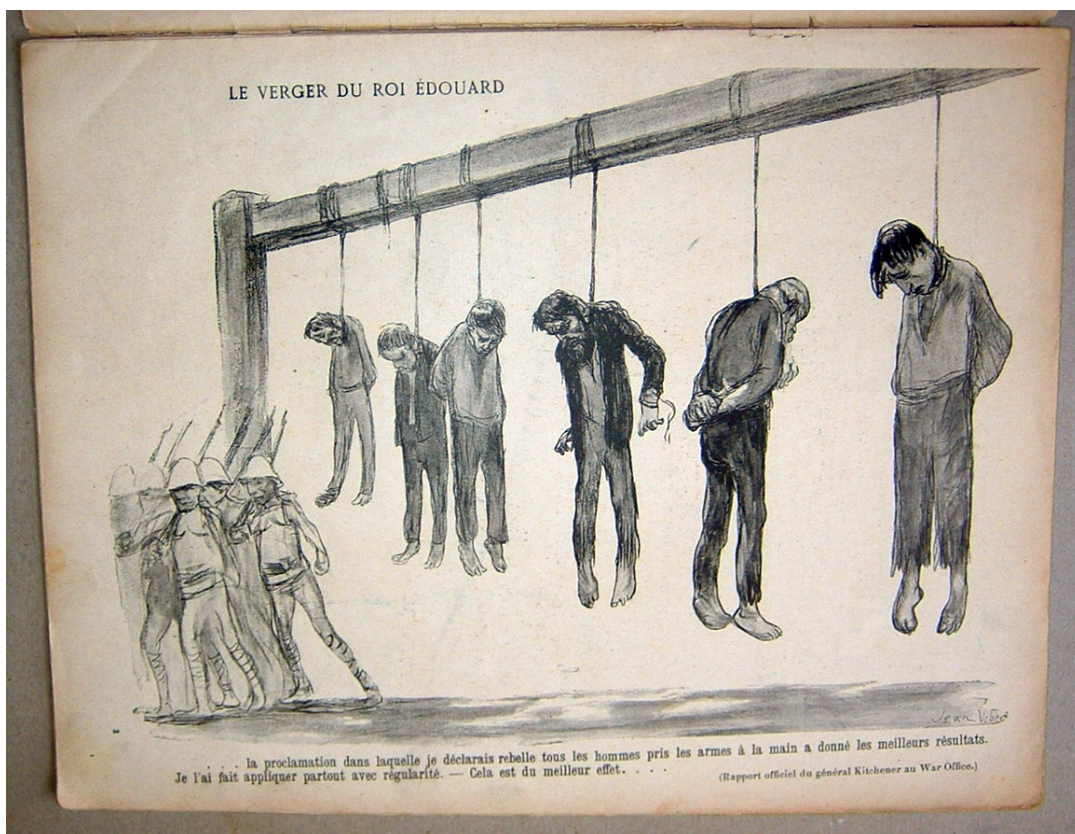


Plate 42. (1901) Jean Veber 'L'Épave' *L'Assiette au Beurre* 28th September. Lithograph (33 x 48 cm)

Plate 43. (1901) Jean Veber 'Le Verger du Roi Edouard' *L'Assiette au Beurre* 28th September. Lithograph (24 x 33 cm)



Plate 44. Linley Sambourne (1901) 'God Save the King!' Caption reads: 'Your Coronation awaits your Majesty's pleasure. But you are already crowned in the hearts of your people.' *Punch*, 6th February. Wood engraving (24 x 30 cm)



Plate 45. Jean Veber (1901) 'S.M. Edouard VII. Roi d'Angleterre, Empereur des Indes. Le Foudre de Guerre.' *L'Assiette au Beurre*, vol. 26, 28th September. Lithograph (24 x 33 cm)



Plate 46. Linley Sambourne (1901) 'Hope Deferred' *Punch* 21st August. Caption: 'Commander in Chief Lord Kitchener, S.A. (reading latest news from England): House up! Grouse plentiful! Yacht-Racing in full swing! I wonder when we shall get our holiday!'. Wood-engraving (24 x 30 cm)



Plate 47. Jean Veber (1901) 'Lord Kitchener' *L'Assiette au Beurre*, vol 26, 28th September. Caption: "Je puis dire qu'à présent la guerre du Transvaal est terminée. Le pays est tranquille et j'y suis arrivé en évitant toute effusion de sang. Les camps de reconcentration où j'ai réuni les femmes et les enfants font rapidement leur oeuvre de pacification." (Kitchener through the War Office). Lithograph (24 x 33 cm)



Plate 48. Jean Veber (1901) 'Le Vieux Kruger', *L'Assiette au Beurre*. 28th September. Caption: "Monde pourri! N'arriverai-je donc pas à te soulever!". Lithograph (24 x 33 cm)



Plate 49. Jean Veber (1901) 'L'Épave', *L'Assiette au Beurre*. 28th September. Lithograph (33 x 48)



CHRISTMAS ON THE VELDT.

PRIVATE MARK TAPLEY. "DO BETTER! TO BE SURE WE WILL. WE SHALL ALL DO BETTER. WHAT WE'VE GOT TO DO IS TO KEEP UP OUR SPIRITS. WE SHALL ALL COME RIGHT IN THE END, NEVER FEAR."—Martin Chuzzlewit, Chap. XXXIII.

Plate 50. Linley Sambourne (1901) 'Christmas on the Veldt.' *Punch* 24th December. Caption: Private Mark Tapley: 'Do Better! To be sure we will. We shall all do better. What we've got to do is keep up our spirits. We shall all come right in the end, never fear' (Martin Chuzzlewit XXXIII). Wood-engraving (30 x 24 cm)



Plate 51. Jean Veber (1901) 'Le Verger du Roi Edouard', *L'Assiette au Beurre*, 28th September. Caption: "...le proclamation dans laquelle je déclarais rebelle tous les hommes pris les armes à la main a donné les meilleurs résultats. Je l'ai fait appliquer partout avec régularité. — Cela est du meilleur effet." Kitchener, War Office. Lithograph (24 x 33 cm)

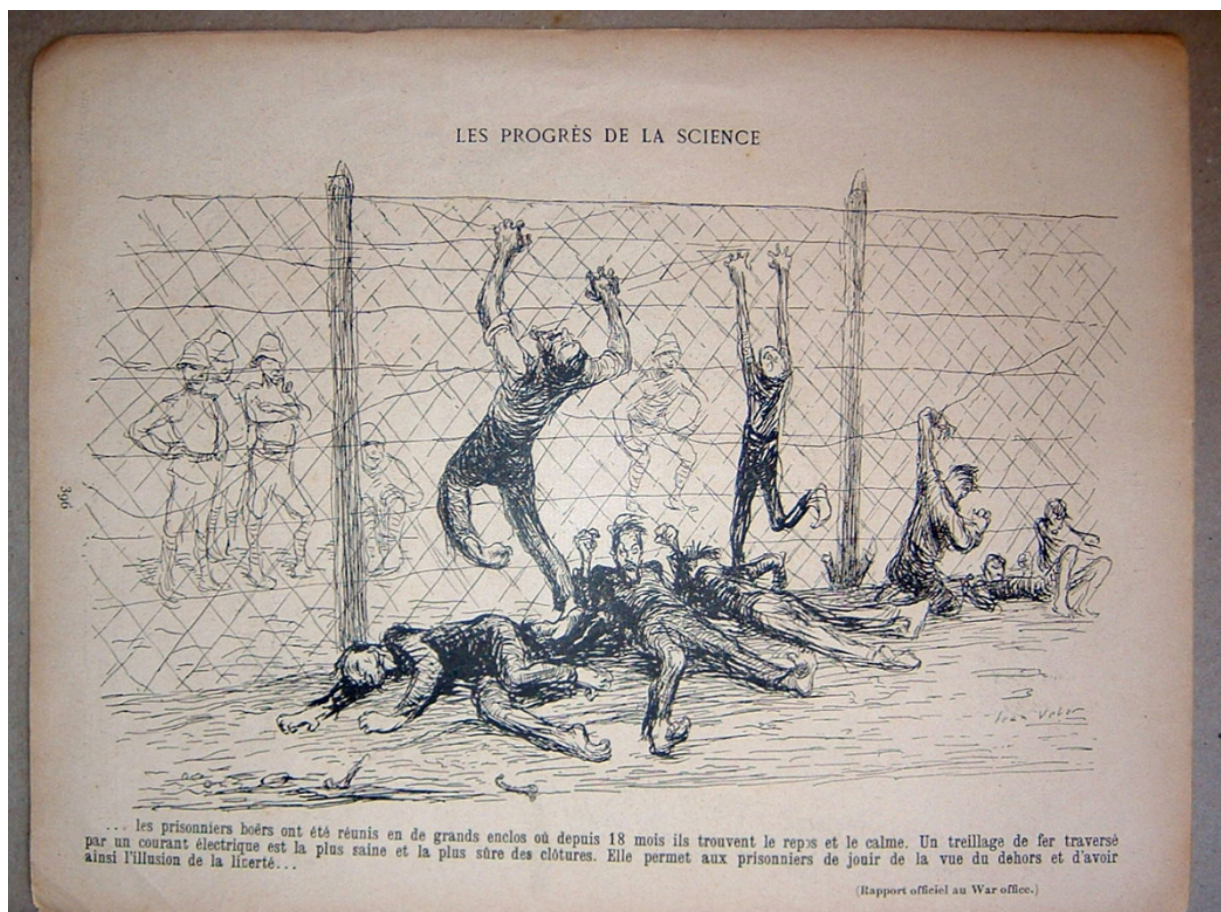


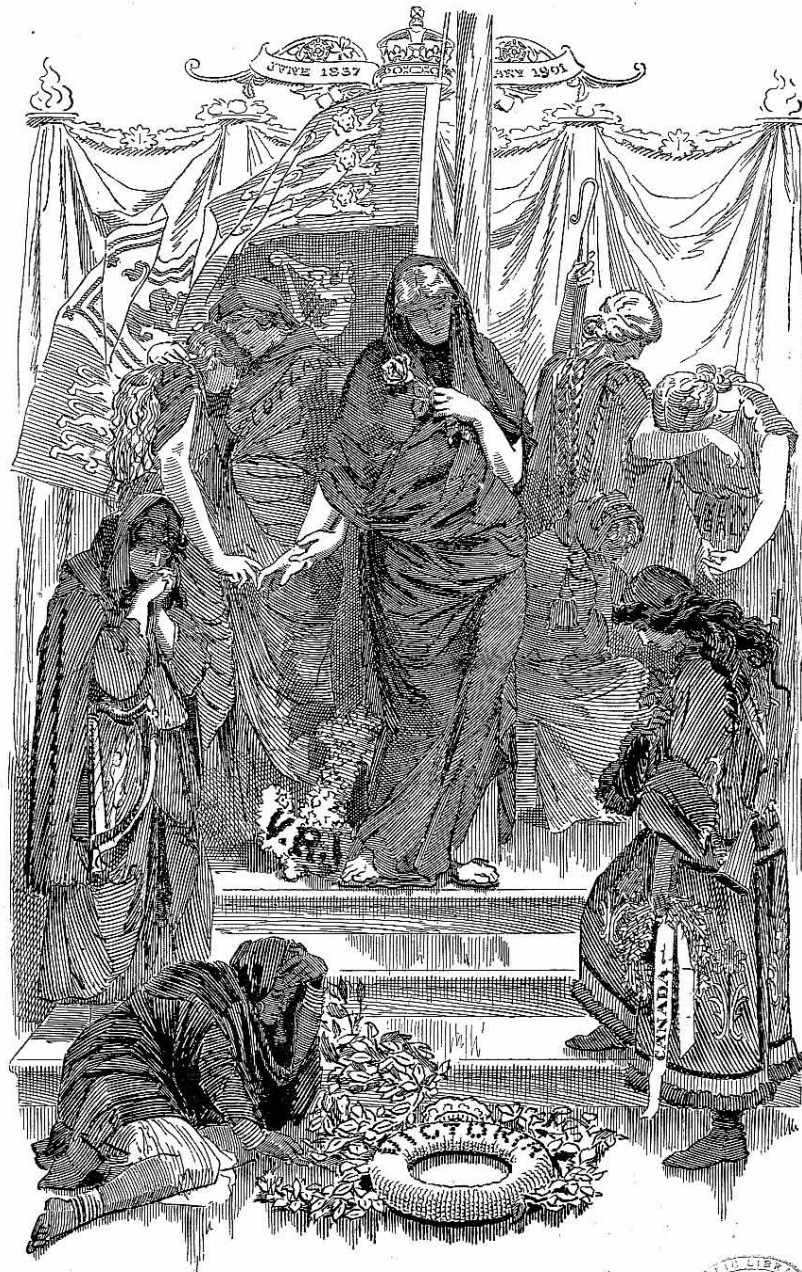
Plate 52. Jean Veber 'Les Progrès de la Science' (1901) *L'Assiette au Beurre*, 28th September. Caption translates: "The Boer prisoners have been gathered into large enclosures where they have found peace and quiet for 18 months. A chain-link fence with an electric current running through it is the most healthful and secure kind of a fence. It allows the prisoners to enjoy the view outside and thus to have the illusion of freedom' (NA - CO 879/76). Lithograph (24 x 33 cm)



PIPING TIMES OF PEACE.

DAME HARCOURT. "AHA! AT LAST HE IS PLAYING SOMETHING DISTINCTLY RESEMBLING AN AIR."

Plate 53. Linley Sambourne (1901) 'Piping Times of Peace' *Punch* 26th June. Caption reads: 'Aha! At last he is playing something resembling an air.' Wood-engraving (24 x 30 cm)



“Requiescat!”

Plate 54. Linley Sambourne (1901) 'Requiescat!' *Punch* 30th January. Wood-engraving (24 x 30 cm)



Plate 55. Jean Veber (1901) 'La Reine Victoria et Madame Kruger', *L'Assiette au Beurre*, 28th September. Caption reads: 'Bonne Madame Kruger! Pourrez-vous jamais le pardon de cette reine cruelle?' Lithograph (33 x 48 cm)



HER WORST ENEMY.

PEACE. "YOU MAKE SUCH A NOISE THEY CAN'T HEAR MY VOICE."

Plate 56. Linley Sambourne (1901) 'Her Worst Enemy' *Punch* 11th December. Caption reads: 'Peace: "You make such a noise they can't hear my voice."' Wood-engraving (30 x 24 cm)



Plate 57. Left: Linley Sambourne (1901) 'A Rift in the Clouds' *Punch* 5th February - Britannia: 'Is It Peace?' Wood-engraving (30 x 24 cm)

Plate 58. Right: Jean Veber (1901) 'L'Impudique Albion' *L'Assiette au Beurre*, vol. 26, 28th September. Lithograph (33 x 24 cm)



A VAIN APPEAL.

Plate 59. Linley Sambourne (1901) 'A Vain Appeal' *Punch* 27th March. Wood-engraving (30 x 24 cm)



Plate 60. Jean Veber (1901) 'L'Insaissable De Wet' *L'Assiette au Beurre* 28th September "Seul un misérable fou refuse jusqu'ici de se rendre. C'est lui qui porte L'ESPÉRANCE des derniers rebelles." Lithograph (33 x 24 cm)

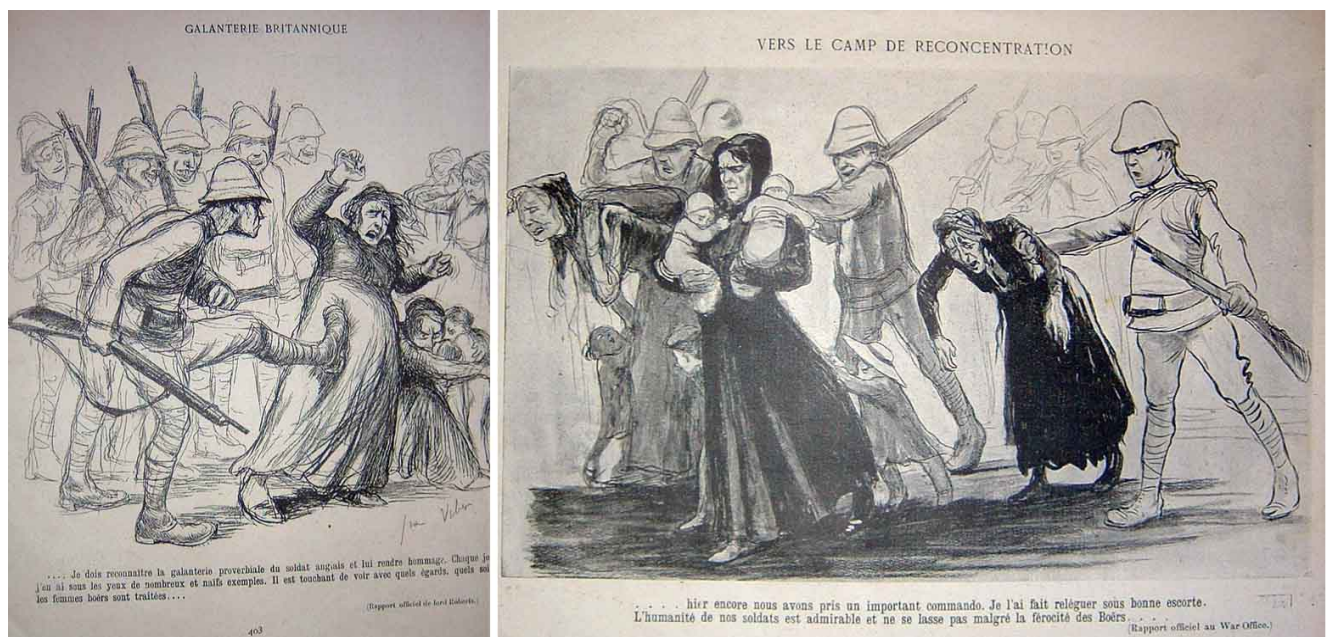


Plate 61. Left. Jean Veber (1901) 'Galanterie Britannique' *L'Assiette au Beurre* 28th September. "Je dois reconnaître la galanterie proverbiale du soldat anglais et lui rendre hommage. Chaque jour j'en ai sous les yeux de nombreux et naïfs exemples. Il est touchant de voir avec quels égards, quels soins les femmes boërs sont traitées..." (Lord Roberts War Office Report). Lithograph (33 x 24 cm)

Plate 62. Right: Jean Veber (1901) 'Vers Le Camp de Reconcentration' *L'Assiette au Beurre* 28th September p400. "...hier encore nous avons pris un important commando. Je l'ai fait reléguer sous bonne escorte. L'humanité de nos soldats est admirable et ne se lasse pas malgré la férocity des Boërs..." (War Office Report). Lithograph (24 x 33 cm)

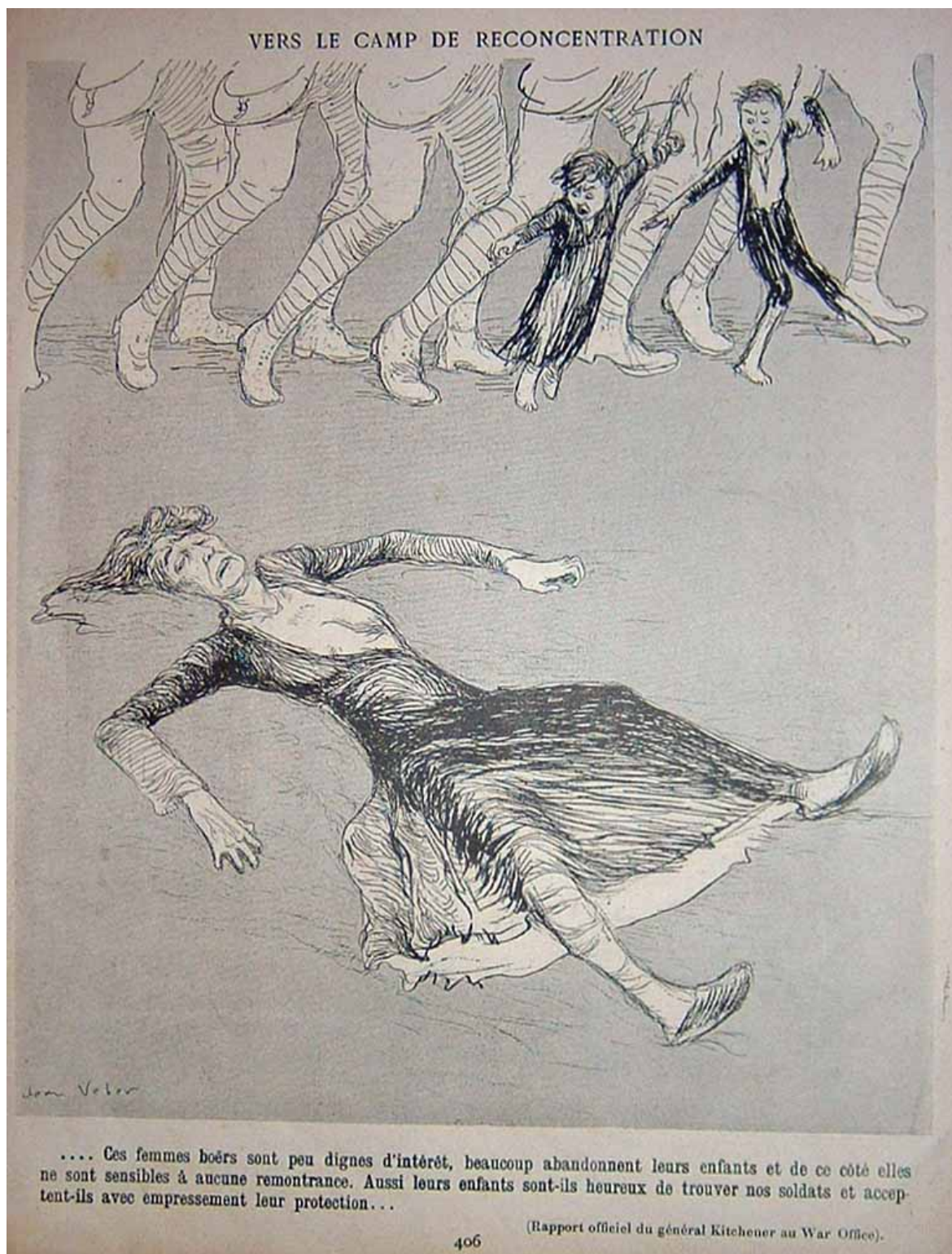


Plate 63. Jean Veber (1901) 'Vers Le Camp de Reconcentration' *L'Assiette au Beurre* 28th September p406
 "...Ces femmes boërs sont peu dignes d'intérêt, beaucoup abandonnent leurs enfants et de ce côté elles ne sont sensibles à aucune remontrance. Aussi leurs enfants sont-ils heureux de trouver nos soldats et acceptent-ils avec empressement leur protection..." (Kitchener - War Office Report). Lithograph (33 x 24 cm)

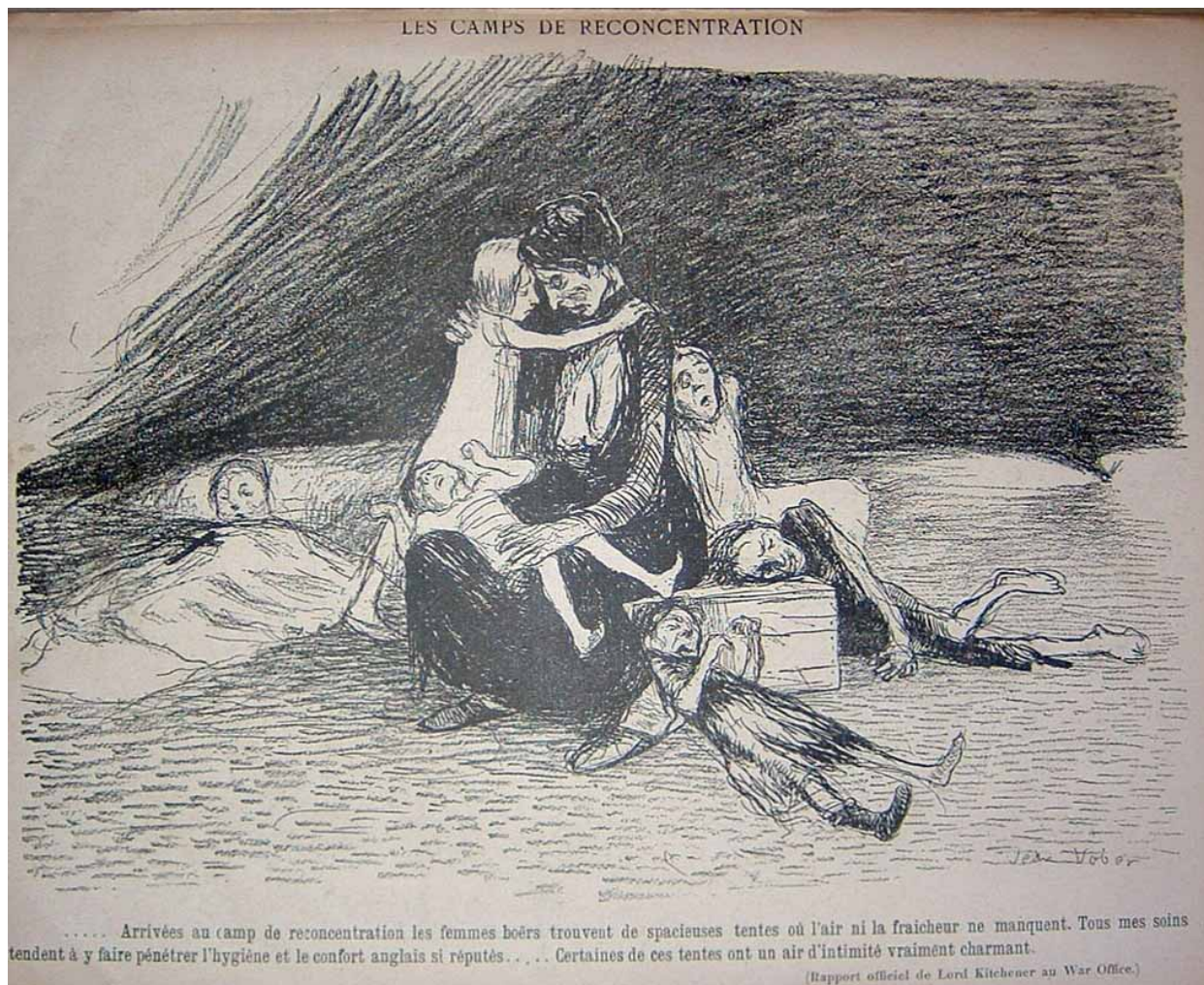


Plate 64. Jean Veber (1901) 'Les Camps de Reconcentration' *L'Assiette au Beurre* 28th September p408 'Arrivées au camp de reconcentration les femmes boërs trouvent de spacieuses tentes où l'air ni la fraîcheur ne manquent. Tous mes soins tendent à y faire pénétrer l'hygiène et le confort anglais si réputés... Certaines de ces tentes ont un air d'intimité vraiment charmant.' (Kitchener War Office Report). Lithograph (24 x 33 cm)

LES CAMPS DE RECONCENTRATION



..... Grâce à la bonne organisation des camps de reconcentration l'abondance et la santé y règnent. C'est un véritable plaisir de voir les enfants courir et jouer innocemment entre les tentes sous l'œil souriant de leurs mères qui oublient ainsi un moment la mélancolie de leur position.....

..... Les mesures de précaution que nous avons prises ont abaissé la mortalité des enfants à 380 pour mille.

Plate 65. Jean Veber (1901) 'Les Camps de Reconcentration' *L'Assiette au Beurre* 28th September p414 '...Grâce à la bonne organisation des camps de reconcentration l'abondance et la santé y règnent. C'est un véritable plaisir de voir les enfants courir et jouer innocemment entre les tentes sous l'œil souriant de leurs mères qui oublient ainsi un moment la mélancolie de leur position... ...Les mesures de précaution que nous avons prises ont abaissé la mortalité des enfants à 380 pour mille.' War Office. Lithograph (33 x 24 cm)



Plate 66. Linley Sambourne (1901) frontispiece, vol.CXX, *Punch*, 2nd January. Wood-engraving (30 x 24 cm)



Plate 67. Jean Veber (1901) 'Le Silence' *L'Assiette au Beurre* 28th September. Lithograph (33 x 24 cm)

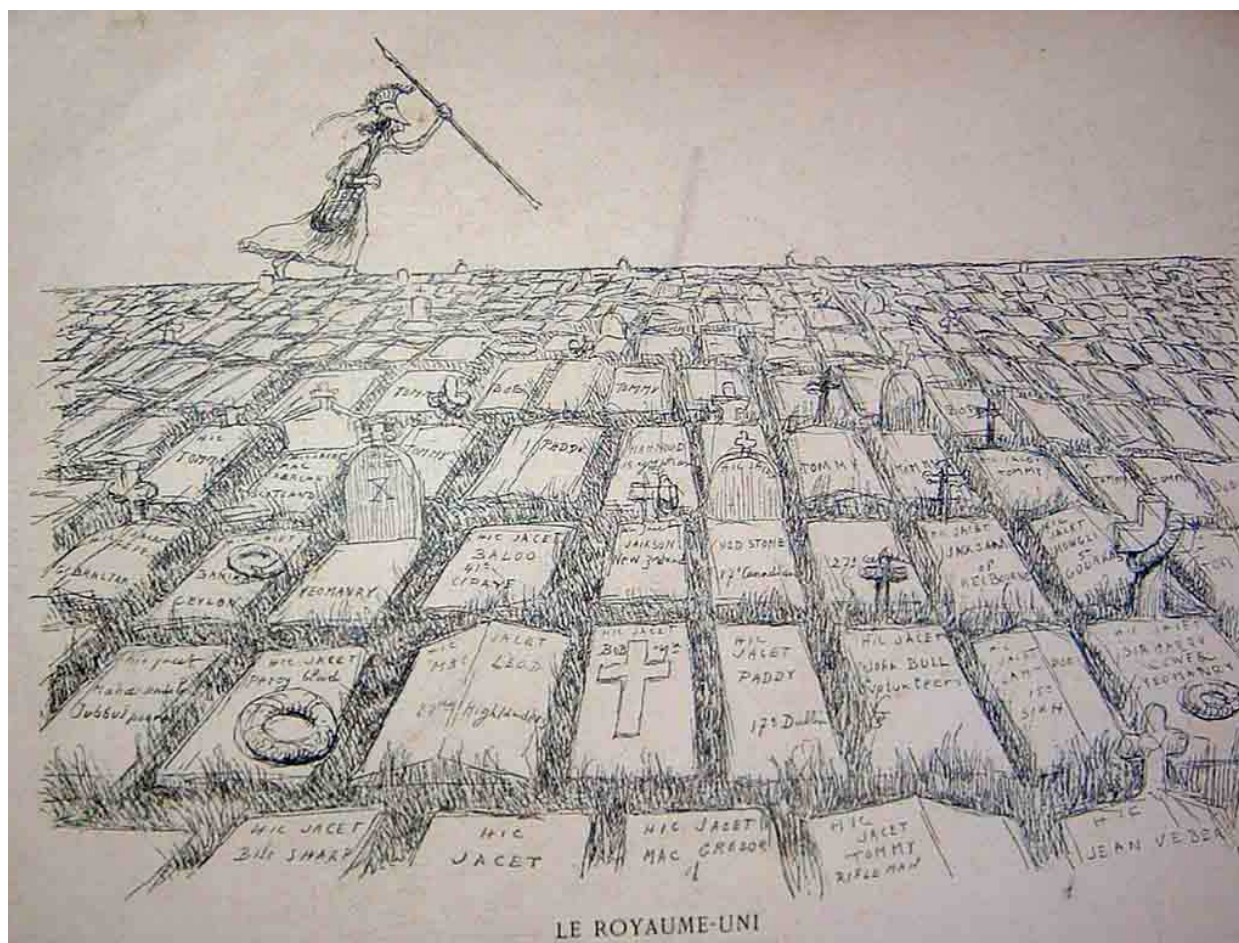


Plate 68. Jean Veber (1901) 'Le Royaume Uni' *L'Assiette au Beurre* 28th September. Lithograph (24 x 33 cm)

APPENDIX B

List of Artists, editions and prices – Jean Veber's Issue 26 is the most expensive one ascribed to an individual designer - priced at 60c, 80c and 1.20F for various editions. He is listed bottom left (Taylor Institution X.OUT.D.1).

Supplément de l'Assiette au Beurre N° 55

Avis à nos Lecteurs

Dans notre avis, inséré dans le n° 46 de l'Assiette au Beurre, nous informions nos lecteurs qu'à partir de mars, tant pour la France que pour l'étranger, le prix des numéros de l'Assiette au Beurre pris en réassortiment serait doublé.

Afin de permettre aux lecteurs, auxquels manquent certains numéros, de compléter leur collection, nous avons décidé de retarder cette augmentation jusqu'à fin mai. D'ici là, les numéros ne seront augmentés que de 10 centimes sur le prix primitif. Mais, dès à présent, nous engageons nos lecteurs à ne pas tarder à faire leur réassortiment; car, irrévocablement, à partir de fin mai, tous les prix de 1 à 52, pris séparément, subiront l'augmentation annoncée. Seul, le prix de la collection entière restera, jusqu'à nouvel ordre, fixé à 24 francs franco domicile.

N°	DESSINATEURS	TITRES	PRIX primitif	PRIX jusqu'à fin mai	PRIX après fin mai	N°	DESSINATEURS	TITRES	PRIX primitif	PRIX jusqu'à fin mai	PRIX après fin mai
1	Divers	Dessins divers	15	35	50	27	Ernest Lajeunesse	Les Tumbals	30	40	60
2	—	—	15	35	50	28	Willette	Les Emmerdeurs	50	60	1
3	—	—	15	35	50	29	Paul Balluriau	L'Ad-mi-nis-tra-tion	30	40	60
4	—	—	15	35	50	30	Van Dongen	Petite histoire, etc.	30	40	60
5	—	—	15	35	50	31	Gottlob	Les Pompes Funèbres	40	50	80
6	—	—	15	35	50	32	Noël Dorville	L'Assistance publique	30	40	60
7	—	—	15	35	50	33	Heidbrinck	L'Héritage	30	40	60
8	—	Le Cas de M. Monis	15	25	30	34	Jouve	Vengeances sociales	30	40	60
9	—	Dessins divers	30	40	60	35	Lucien Méivet	Les Joujoux du Préfet	50	60	1
10	—	—	30	40	60	36	Ibels	La Censure	30	40	60
11	—	—	30	40	60	37	A. Guillaume	A nous l'Espace!	50	60	1
12	—	—	30	40	60	38	Camara	Les Bandins de nos jours	30	40	60
13	—	—	30	40	60	39	Paul Balluriau	Noël	30	40	60
14	Hermann-Paul	La Guerre	30	40	60	40	Caran d'Ache	Ferblanterie	60	70	1 20
15	Steinlen	14 Juillet	30	40	60	41	François Kupka	L'Argent	30	40	60
16	Divers	Dessins divers	30	40	60	42	Weiluc	Les Tueurs de Routes	30	40	60
17	Kouhille	Villégiatures	30	40	60	43	Jossot	Fixe!	30	40	60
18	Divers	Dessins divers	30	40	60	44	Xavier Gossé	Les Sportsmen	40	50	80
19	Léal de Camara	Les Souverains	30	40	60	45	Minartz	L'Article de Paris	30	40	60
20	Arthur Michael	Les Snobs	30	40	60	46	Jacques Villon	La Vie facile	30	40	60
21	Divers	Dessins divers	30	40	60	47	Divers	Les Falsificateurs	1	1	2
22	Hermann-Paul	Lourdes	40	50	80	48	Steinlen	La Vision de Hugo	40	50	80
23	Divers	Dessins divers	30	40	60	49	Vallotton	Crimes et Chatiments	50	60	1
24	Jossot	Les Tapisophages	30	40	60	50	Sacha	Les Petits Métiers	30	40	60
25	Dubuc	La Taar en France	30	40	60	51	Louis Morin	Les Masques	30	40	60
26	Jean Veber	La Camp en Reconcentration	60	80	1 20	52	Abel Faivre	Les Médecins	30	40	60
							Dois	Les Gens pratiques	30	40	60
									18	23	85 06 90

L'ESTOMAC

Quand une méthode médicale est véritablement efficace, les malades ont bientôt fait de s'en rendre compte, et on entend de tous côtés vanter ses succès. C'est le cas de celle que nous recommandons aujourd'hui aux lecteurs et ses résultats ont dépassé toutes les espérances: il faut dire qu'elle est absolument spéciale pour les maladies de l'estomac et des intestins. Elle ne promet pas la guérison, à la fois des poisons, du cancer, de la peau, etc.; c'est une méthode rationnelle et honnête, d'une efficacité incontestable et inébranlable. Nous ne saurions donc trop recommander la lecture du journal **Le Médicament de l'Estomac**, organe attiré de cette méthode, qui est la publication la plus complète et la plus intéressante, sur tout ce qui concerne les organes de la digestion, les maux d'estomac et leurs causes. Hygiène, stomacale, l'alimentation et une quantité d'excellents conseils pour se guider soi-même. Le journal est envoyé gratuitement sur simple demande au Directeur, 130, Boulevard Mazarin, Paris. Que tous ceux qui digèrent mal fassent entre les mains, ils en seront émerveillés.

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APPENDIX C

The Legal department's record of L'Assiette au Beurre's 1901 issues AN F18/(111)221

DEPÔT LÉGAL

MINISTÈRE DE L'INTÉRIEUR

ANNEE 1901

Titre de l'écrit: *L'Assiette au beurre*

Noms des gérants: _____ Adresse: _____

Nom de l'imprimeur: *Charavie*

ENREGISTREMENT		DÉSIGNATION DE L'ÉCRIT		ENREGISTREMENT		DÉSIGNATION DE L'ÉCRIT	
NUMÉRO d'ordre	DATE de dépôt	INDICATION du n° de la livraison en dactylo, etc.	DATE DE L'ÉCRIT	NUMÉRO d'ordre	DATE de dépôt	INDICATION du n° de la livraison en dactylo, etc.	DATE DE L'ÉCRIT
1	1er janv.	1					
2	13 janv.	2	11 janv.				
3	22 janv.	3	12 janv.				
4	27 janv.	4					
5	1er fév.	5	2 mai				
6	11 fév.	6	9 fév.				
7, 8, 9	29, 30, 1er	7, 8, 9	18, 21, 23 mai				
10, 11	5, 6 juin	10, 11	30 mai, 6 juin				
12, 13	20, 21	12, 13	13, 20 janv.				
14	30 janv.	14	27 janv.				
15	28 septembre	15	28 septembre 1901				
16	23 novembre	16	23 novembre				
17	28	17	30 novembre				
18	9 x 1/2	18	9 x 1/2				
19	14 x 1/2	19	14 "				
20	23 "	20	21 "				
21	30 "	21	18 "				

APPENDIX D

Cartoons' form and function are measured quantitatively in order to gauge frequency and repetition of themes and devices used in each set of cartoons. Themes and devices' commonness of occurrence can be compared to each other in terms of gauging, for example, images of power or weakness. In addition, rarities can be notable by their unique appearance and these uncommon indicators are counted and analysed. In addition a count of Gombrich's six filters used in each cartoon serves to underscore repetitive comment on warlike messages – more of this later in the chapter. Measuring the frequencies and repetitions allows the scholar to deduce and discern comparative similarities and differences in the Boer War cartoons of two publications. In this and following chapters quantitative material is used to support the data analysis, especially in terms of thematic comparisons. Each chapter's argument provides the angle against which cartoons' raw data is measured, processed and analysed in comparison with each other as groups of images.

	male	female	children	animal	furniture	flags	weapons	misc	british	french	Boer
<i>Punch</i>	38	15	2	8	7	7	12	13	43	3	1
<i>Assiette</i>	126	37	26	3	2	6	26	11	74	151	126
Differential	88	22	24	5	5	1	14	2	31	148	125
%	60%	51%	7.6%	2.6%	2.7%	2%	51%	1%	58%	0.1%	0.7%

Table 1 Repetition and frequency count of cartoon contents in 23 *Punch* and 22 *L'Assiette* cartoons. The differential is also recorded.

Table 1 shows the repetition and frequency of devices used within the cartoons and expressed in comparative figures in the third row. Veber in *L'Assiette* demonstrates a predilection for excessive numbers of figures, particularly males, whereas *Punch*'s figures are less dramatically varied as Sambourne is not so concerned about conveying coarse and hostile criticism.

	Figures of Speech	Condensation & Comparison	Portrait Caricature	Political Bestiary	Natural Metaphor	Power of Contrast
<i>Punch</i>	52%	94%	52%	9.5%	33%	66%
<i>Assiette</i>	8.6%	91%	43%	21.7%	52%	91%
Differential	43.4%	3%	9%	12.2%	19%	25%

Table 2: Filter use showing percentage differences in the use of thematic categories by each publication.

Quantitative analysis shows that the two magazines use certain effects to convey their points, described here in the above table in Gombrich's terms. Table Two provides another percentage comparison of twenty-three *Punch* and twenty-two *L'Assiette* cartoons, in this instance of each magazine's use of Gombrich's six filters. The figures demonstrate an appreciable difference of approaches in portraying comment about aspects of the Boer War. While both *Punch* and *L'Assiette* rely heavily on the use of the Condensation filter at ninety-four per cent and ninety-one per cent respectively, there are marked changes in the use of other types of filter. For example, compare *Punch*'s strong use of 'Figures of Speech' at fifty-two per cent of its total to *L'Assiette*'s tiny eight-point-six per cent. The only other category demonstrating a large differential is that of the 'Power of Contrast' - note *L'Assiette*'s ninety-one per cent reliance on sharp distinctions as opposed to *Punch*'s more sedate sixty-six per cent. These figures provide the analyst with insights about each cartoonist's approach toward covering stories about the war.

	furniture	flags	weapons	Misc
<i>Punch</i>	7	7	12	13
<i>Assiette</i>	2	6	26	11
Differential	5	1	14	2
%	2.7%	2%	51%	1%

Table 3. Count of non-human items in the cartoons

	Male	Female	Children
<i>Punch</i>	38	15	2
<i>L'Assiette</i>	126	37	26
Differential	+88 (60%)	+22 (51%)	+24 (8%)

Table 4. Comparative use of male, female and juvenile figures in *Punch* and *L'Assiette's* forty-five cartoons.

Table 4 shows the high number of male figures used to demonstrate power, compared to women and children, especially in *L'Assiette's* case. These numbers in isolation are indicators of the cartoonists' use of the male figure as identified with issues of power and abuse, Veber draws sixty per cent more men than Sambourne.

APPENDIX E

L'Assiette au Beurre Caption List and Notes

Jean Veber, *L'Assiette au Beurre*, No. 26 (28th September 1901), Paris: Schwarz: 393-416.

Notes on 21 photogravure copies from lithograph originals. Some images are directly linked to dated events, some are based on reports from Kitchener and Milner through the War Office, and others are reflected commentaries on the perceived nature of Edward VII and British foreign policies. The images are set in a twenty two-page magazine and all are not in chronological order of subject matter. The page numbers refer to *L'Assiette*'s own pagination.

1. '*Le Silence*' (p.393) Front cover. Full colour. Verso portrait.
2. '*Le Vieux Kruger*' (p.394) Black and white. Recto. Caption: "Monde pourri! N'arriverai-je donc pas à te soulever!"
3. '*Lord Kitchener*' (p.395) Colour. Verso portrait. Caption: "Je puis dire qu'à présent la guerre du Transvaal est terminée. Le pays est tranquille et j'y suis arrivé en évitant toute effusion de sang. Les camps de reconcentration où j'ai réuni les femmes et les enfants font rapidement leur oeuvre de pacification." Caption extract from Kitchener through the War Office. This can be compared directly with Sambourne's heroic portrait.
4. '*Les Progrès de La Science*' (p.396) Black and white. Recto landscape. Caption: "les prisonniers boërs ont été réunis en de grands enclos où depuis 18 mois ils trouvent le repos et

le calme. Un treillage de fer traversé par un courant électrique est la plus saine et la plus sûre des clôtures. Elle permet aux prisonniers de jouir de la vue du dehors et d'avoir ainsi l'illusion de la liberté..." War Office Report. Title translates: "The Progress of Science." Caption translates: "The Boer prisoners have been gathered into large enclosures where they have found peace and quiet for 18 months. A wire netting with an electric current running through it is the most healthful and secure kind of a fence. It allows the prisoners to enjoy the view outside and thus to have the illusion of freedom." War Office report. See also the comment from Emily Hobhouse on camp conditions in Bloemfontein. 1901 was the inaugural year of the Nobel Prize. Pakenham states that the first full English journalist report on conditions in the camps came from *The Times* correspondent Leo Amery 19 June 1901 (p506) in which he asserts the camps are showing signs of 'progress.' However, Veber uses Kitchener's report.

5. '*Le Verger du Roi Edouard*', translates to 'King Edward's Orchard' (p.397) Black and white. Verso landscape. Hanged Boers are the fruit of an evil harvest. Caption reads: "...la proclamation dans laquelle déclarais rebelles tous les hommes pris les armes à la main a donné les meilleurs résultats. Je l'ai fait appliquer partout avec régularité. – Cela est du meilleur effet." [War Office]. This comment exposes Kitchener's disdain for an enemy that refused to engage in pitched battle.
6. '*Le Revue de Bétheny*' or '*Le Nuage*'. (p.398-399) colour landscape. Recto and verso. The French president, Emile Loubet, invited Tsar Nicholas II to assist in the inspection of the military review at Bétheny, near Reims, on September 21st 1901 as part of the Tsar and Tsarina's visit to France from 19th – 21st September. Veber cast a Kruger-shaped cloud over the imposing review of 150,000 men on the plains of Bétheny. The placing of this image as the sixth in the magazine, and out of a strict time line, is dependent on its double page landscape format, the design on which is a very effective spread of the reported mass of men arranged on the plain near Reims. There is a link with no. 17 '*La visite du Tsar en France: Le*

Baiser Stérile. 'Veber is running out of time as the whole magazine has to be published by the 28th September and includes a reference to the Boers' plight. Yet he still wants to keep up the pressure on the European powers, particularly an edition of *L'Assiette au Beurre* dedicated to the plight of the Boers. Both images are examples of reflective comment and remonstrance with a seemingly unconcerned aristocratic elite; all are transposed upon reportage of current events.

7. '*Vers le camp de reconcentration*' (a) (p.400) black and white. Verso. Caption reads: "...hier encore nous avons pris un important commando. Je l'ai fait reléguer sous bonne escorte. L'humanité de nos soldats est admirable et ne se lasse pas malgré la férocité des Boers..." Official War report translates: "...as lately as yesterday we took orders. I executed them well. The humanity of our soldiers is admirable and does not grow weary in spite of the ferocity of Boers..."
8. '*Bravoure Britannique*' (p.401) black and white recto. A British troop and armaments transport train disguised as Boer farmer transport, with Boers tied to stakes at each corner of the wagons as decoys. Caption reads: "...les voies de communications sont rétabiles et le chemin de fer fonctionne régulièrement. Les accidents qui étaient si fréquents il y a quelques mois ne se produisent plus." Official War Office Report translates: "...here communication is reliable and the railroad functions regularly. The accidents which were so frequent a few months ago now do not occur so much."
9. '*L'Insaisissable de Wet*' (The Imperceptible De Wet) (p.402) colour verso portrait. Caption reads: "Seul un misérable fou refuse jusqu'ici de se rendre. C'est lui qui porte L'ESPÉRANCE (*sic*) des derniers rebelles." The Official War Office Report translates: "Only an insane poor wretch refuses to surrender. It is he who carries the HOPE of the last rebels." The composition comprises of De Wet on a flying horse, with Hope riding pillion, set above a hellish and ruinous volcanic landscape. Propaganda from the War Office comments on De

Wet eluding capture and refusing to surrender; the report attempts to undermine the Boer cause by impugning that De Wet is mad to try to rescue Hope. Veber depicts De Wet as a contemporary Bellerophon astride Pegasus rescuing Hope from the fiery domain of the Chimaera. For Veber's fire-breathing Chimaera read Kitchener; the burned landscape represents the effects of Kitchener's scorched-earth policy in the Transvaal. After the 10-28th February 1901 and the third 'invasion' of the Orange River cordons and subsequent retreat to his homeland north of Bloemfontein, De Wet had slipped through the net again much to the frustration of the British High Command (P493 Pakenham).

10. '*Galanterie Britannique*' (p.403) black and white recto portrait. Caption reads: "Je dois reconnaître la galanterie proverbiale du soldat anglais et lui rendre hommage. Chaque jour j'en ai sous les yeux de nombreux et naïfs exemples. Il est touchant de voir avec quels égards, quels soins les femmes boërs son traitées..." Lord Roberts War Office Report. British soldier kicks Boer woman.
11. '*L'Épave*', 'The Wreck'. (pp.404-405) colour landscape verso and recto. Kruger lies beached on Dutch shores after his escape and exile to the Netherlands. [Date October 1900]. No caption in French version. Caption in Dutch version.
12. '*Vers le camp de reconcentration*'(b) (p.406) black and white verso. Caption reads: "...Ces femmes boërs sont peu dignes d'intérêt, beaucoup abandonnent leurs enfants et de ce côté elles ne sont sensibles à aucune remontrance. Aussi leurs enfants sont-ils heureux de trouver nos soldats et acceptent-ils avec empressement leur protection..." Kitchener War Office Report translates: "...the Boer women are not very worthy of interest, many give up their children and on this side they are not sensitive to any remonstrance. Also their children are keen to find our soldiers and accept with eagerness their protection..." Children are dragged from their dead mother.

13. '*S.M. Édouard VII, Roi d'Angleterre, Empereur des Indes. Le Foudre de Guerre.*' 'The Thunderbolt of War' (p.407) Colour portrait recto. Edward VII is ridiculed as a barrel of wine, incontinent and inflexible, his sceptre is topped with a clenched fist. He sports two types of crowns: one set being those of Empire and Kingdom, the other being both his own and his Mother's, part of whose troubled inherited legacy is The Boer War.

14. '*Les camps de reconcentration*' (a) (p.408) Black and white verso. Dead and dying children. Caption: 'Arrivées au camp de reconcentration les femmes boërs trouvent de spacieuses tents où l'air ni la fraîcheur ne manquent. Tous mes soins tendent à y faire pénétrer l'hygiène et le confort anglais si réputés...Certaines de ces tentes ont l'air d'intimité vraiment charmant' (Kitchener, Official War Report). Hobhouse makes contrary reports.

15. '*Le Deep Level – L'Honorable Chamberlain*' (1895) (p.409) Black and white recto. Hoeing the dead. This is a reflective comment on the cost of Deep Level Mining in the Witwatersrand under the Imperialist Joseph Chamberlain who was appointed to the Colonial Office in 1895. "The rejection of Mr. Chamberlain's repeated efforts to come to a friendly arrangement with Germany convinced him by the autumn of 1901 that Germany and her Government were definitely hostile to Great Britain. This was an attack by the German press, seconded as a political piece of tactics by the Liberal Opposition in England, on the 'methods of barbarity' attributed to the British command in South Africa aroused Mr. Chamberlain's resentment. In Edinburgh, on October 15th, 1901, he replied to these attacks with references to the methods employed by the German Army in the Franco-Prussian War. This speech gave rise to further attacks on England in the German Press." (Cf. Lee, *Edward VII*, p. 135 LS version of Chamberlain?

16. '*La Reine Victoria et Madame Kruger*' (pp.410-411) colour landscape verso and recto. Caption: 'Bonne Madame Kruger! Pourrez-vous jamais le pardon de cette reine cruelle!' (Good Mrs Kruger! You will never gain an apology of this cruel queen!). Mrs Kruger died on 20th

July 1901 in South Africa. She had been too ill to travel with her husband into exile the previous year. This image shows Queen Victoria in Hell as an example of French anti-British propaganda. On the side of the angels stands Gezina du Plessis wife of the Boer leader, Paul Kruger. Queen Victoria is being helped down to Hell, armed imps scooting toward her; the 'Good Mrs Kruger' is told not to expect an apology from 'la reine cruelle'. All the dead in Heaven are Boers. God and Christ wear perplexed expressions and are seated on a bench. The composition is executed with a fury worthy of Gerald Scarfe.

17. *'La visite du Tsar en France: Le baiser stérile.'* (p.412) black and white verso. This piece shows the Tsar and Kaiser meeting in Paris in 1901 at the Kaiser's annual dinner in honour of the Tsar's birthday - 18 May 1901. This is a portrayal of a most unchaste kiss, it is positively indecent. It is a comment on the Tsar and Kaiser's close political relationship and is highly suggestive of Veber focusing on another set of self-indulgent Imperialists for *L'Assiette* to lambast. With regards to Boer war sympathy, Germany expressed sympathy for the Boers yet did nothing to aid them. "Policy must be judged not by words but by facts, and it is an important fact that on two separate occasions since the Boer War began Germany rejected an official suggestion to participate in so-called 'good offices'! (BULOW: *'Very good.'*) My feelings of loyalty prevented me from mentioning the source of these suggestions. If Germany had joined in, probably every State, certainly every European State great and small, would have done the same, and it was easy to calculate the influence of such an event on the population of Cape Colony. The 'man in the street' had no practical influence. Sympathy for the Boers was not confined to Germany only; many sections of humanity wished success to the Boers simply out of hostility towards the institution of standing armies. Even if the Boer War ended in England's favour I was sure that it would inflict permanent injury on her, and I wished therefore--with my presentiment that in the future England and Germany were destined to follow a common path--that England would thoroughly reorganise her land forces. As for the

present relations between the two countries, I considered that the question of an affiance could not in practice be discussed whilst Lord Salisbury remained in power. The only thing to do now was to leave the future open, if this could be done.” [Memorandum by Baron von Holstein, German Foreign Office, October 31st, 1901 from *German Diplomatic Documents, 1871-1914*, selected and translated by E.T.S. Dugdale, Volume III, "*The Growing Antagonism, 1898-1910*," (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1930, pp.140-52) Veber's cartoons 6 and 17 may be the last ones in the 21 print series that are dateable; the whole series was published on the 28th September 1901. Veber's print is contemporary with the event covered by Sambourne. Sambourne's cartoons continue to cover stories about the people and events of the war in *Punch* until the ceasefire at Vereeniging (31 May, 1902). The major difference is that Veber, through *L'Assiette*, is offered a platform to express his outrage at atrocities committed by the British in South Africa. The format of 21 images on the same subject published in this one edition affords to Veber's protest images a virulent potency of a type that is not seen in the chronological sequence of Sambourne's *Punch* images of the same subject. Each artist and magazine's purpose is very different. The conservative *Punch* seeks to support the British army throughout their entire campaign, especially in the lionising of leaders in high command. *Punch*'s readership, based in London and of a certain class and imperial bent, expected nothing less.

18. 'Les Acheteurs de biens' (p.413) Black and white recto portrait. Caption: "Toute ferme confisquée est immédiatement vendue et trouve facilement un nouveau propriétaire qui s'empresse d'aller prendre possession de sa nouvelle propriété". War Office Report.
19. 'Les camps de reconcentration' (b) (p.414) Colour verso. Old Boer woman wailing over a pyramid of dead children. Caption reads '...Grâce à la bonne organisation des camps de reconcentration l'abondance et la santé y règnent. C'est un véritable plaisir de voir les enfants courir et jouer innocemment entre les tentes sous l'œil souriant de leurs mères qui oublient ainsi

un moment la mélancolie de leur position...Les mesures de précaution que nous avons prises ont abaissé la mortalité des enfants à 380 per mille.’ War Office Report.

20. ‘*Le Royaume Uni*’ (p.415) Black and white recto. ‘Britannia’ strides across the United Kingdom of the dead; this is a comment on the causes of suffering and death exerted by British foreign policy and warfare around the world.
21. ‘*L’Impudique Albion*’ (p.416) Colour verso portrait. A grinning ‘Britannia’ bares her posterior sporting a likeness of Edward VII’s face.

APPENDIX F

Francisco Goya (1810-14) 'Not This', *The Disasters of War*. London: Dover Editions



Etching (24 x 30 cm)

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End Notes

ⁱ Michel and Elisabeth Dixmier in their 1974 book on *L'Assiette au Beurre* cite this reference as D14U3 (619) – The catalogue has since been renumbered to APS 25/64/1.

ⁱⁱ ‘While *Punch* established itself as a bastion of upper-middle class ideology and distanced itself from its earlier radical sympathies, new magazines moved into the expanding cheaper, twopenny market (*Punch* cost threepence): *Fun*, founded in 1861, *Judy* in 1867, and then, in a second wave of even cheaper (one penny) publications.’ (Kunzle, 1985, 8(1), p. 40)

ⁱⁱⁱ The term scopic has recently become widely employed in the study of exhibition and visual culture. It comes from the film critic Christian Metz’s notion of “scopic regimes” as a way of speaking about the intersection of technology and culture and culturally specific ways of seeing (Op.cit., p61)

^{iv} This example proves that war also boosts circulation for magazines as well as mass circulation newspapers. By 1912, *Punch*’s circulation had also increased exponentially at the beginning of World War I, rising from 79,500 in 1908 to 103,000 in 1914 (BL – PUN/A/Brad/BB/03, p.237).

^v Frederick Mackenzie (1921) discusses *The Daily Mail*’s stance on the Boer War (Op. cit. pp. 25-30).

^{vi} Figures from the *Punch* Cartoon Library in London. After 1917 the price increased to 6d.

^{vii} *L'Assiette au Beurre* No 55, 1902, see page 45.

^{viii} The *Mérite agricole* is an award for services to agriculture. Jean Veber referred to this award in the opening salutation to *L'Assiette*’s director Samuel Schwarz. The manifesto set out the context of the supposed origins of the magazine as a supporter of Republican humble beginnings and modest living, and was opposed to the asserted self-indulgent imperialism of the landowning aristocracy; in particular Edward VII and ‘Les Englishs’ are the butts of Veber’s tirade against such abuses of power.

^{ix} The first year’s cover sported a blank low relief impression of Jean Veber’s ‘Marianne’ (see Plate 6 for the original design). The quarterly issue also had ‘Marianne’ on the front cover, but in different guises.

^x “La vente par les éditeurs des emboîtages des 10 premières années de parution: en toile blanche imitant le basane, illustrés par des motifs décoratifs et par un des dessins de l’année. Prix de couverture: 5F”. Dixmier, E & M (1974) Op.cit.p.44.

^{xi} *Les lois scélérates* of 1893- a pejorative term translating as the ‘villainous laws’ – were passed by the Third Republic Government in response to a series of violent protests and bombings in Paris. In effect they limited the 1881 freedom of the press laws. Issued in three stages, the final act forbade any newspaper from using anarchist propaganda and anti-militarism, thus restricting free speech. No paper was permitted to support ‘Either by provocation or by apology... [anyone who has] encouraged one or several persons in committing either a stealing, or the crimes of murder, looting or arson...; 2. Or has addressed a provocation to the military from the Army or the Navy, in the aim of diverting them from their military duties and the obedience due to their chiefs... will be deferred before courts and punished by a prison sentence of three months to two years.’ F. de Pressensé (1899) *Les lois scélérates de 1893-1894*, Paris: Editions de la Revue blanche.

^{xii} The Federation of Trade Unions.

^{xiii} The Dreyfus Affair (1894 - 1900) a scandal in which a French official of Jewish origin was unjustly accused of espionage from the army’s higher ranks. Defended by those called ‘the intellectuals’ (in particular from Emil Zola, with the famous article ‘J’ accuse’) then ... will be rehabilitated, with a defeat of reactionary and anti-Semitic army atmospheres and also the government. See page 40.

^{xiv} Joseph Chamberlain was also held up to ridicule by Sambourne. Leonee Ormond points out that he ‘abandoned the supporters of free trade [his earlier cause] and became committed to tariffs that would uphold Imperial preference’ (Ormond, 2010, p.168). However, by 1901, Sambourne did not attack Chamberlain with reference to the Boer War.

^{xv} It is possibly a protest in the context of events leading up to the Battle of Marignano in 1515. ‘The French print shows clearly its intention not only by its title but also in the preamble: “It is great pride to a poor rogue / Wanting to play against the flow of princes.” Thus, the Swiss are “poor rogues” who want to share the wealth as much as power.’ (Estampes EA 17 Rés. Tome (1513-15) Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale)

^{xvi} See Horace Vernet in de l’Ardèche, L. (1839) *L’Histoire de L’Empereur Napoléon* Paris; J-J. Dubochet and Raffet in Norvins, J. (1839) *L’Histoire de Napoléon* Paris: Furne. Op.cit.

^{xvii} Loubet promoted French economy and culture in a large way. In the year of the Exposition (1900) he hosted an enormous feast for 20,000 dignitaries in the Tuileries in Paris. The tables stretched so far that waiters had to use bicycles to get to their guests. He also oversaw the building of Le Petit and Grand Palais, le Pont d’Alexandre III and the Gare du Lyon in celebration of French culture. Loubet’s attempts to enforce ‘La Gloire’ - an almost untranslatable term – were in fact a charade that barely concealed the country’s collapsing Imperial framework.

^{xviii} ‘Subject’ *On Reading, The Rustle of Language*. (On subjectivity) Barthes claims “that the reader is the complete subject, that the field of reading is that of absolute subjectivity (in the materialistic sense which this old idealistic world can now have): every reading proceeds from a subject, and it is separated from this subject only by rare and tenuous mediations, the apprenticeship of letters, a few rhetorical protocols, beyond which (very quickly) it is the subject who rediscovers himself in his own, individual structure: either desiring, or perverse, or paranoid, or imaginary, or neurotic – and of course in his historical structure as well: alienated by ideology, by the routines of codes.” (Barthes, 1976, Op.cit. p.42)

^{xix} ‘Cartooning the USA: America Through the Pen of Political Cartoonists’ (October 2005) Conference at the Eccles Centre for American Studies at the British Library.

^{xx} The other authors who contribute articles to the same edition are: Allen McLaurin, Chris Lamb, Matthew Shaw, Dan Berkowitz and Lyombe Eko, Kevin Barnhurst, Michael Vari and Igor Rodrigues, Stephanie Kelley Romano and Victoria Westgate.

^{xxi} Words do injure, and in one recent case, inspired cruel caricature. Who can forget Ann Widdecombe’s disingenuous musings about her Conservative colleague Michael Howard as ‘having something of the night’ about him in 1997? This comment wrecked his leadership challenge (Ashley, 2003, *Guardian*, 3rd November). Cartoonists leapt to their drawing boards spawning dozens of vampiric likenesses. However, pictures do wound on their own. Prime Minister Gordon Brown complained that cartoonists drew him too fat. Seventeen years ago, the then Chancellor asked *The Guardian*’s Martin Rowson why he rendered him as fat. ‘Martin Rowson met Mr Brown at a party. Rowson said: “He looked at me with that hooded-browed expression of his – his jaw doing that thing that makes him look as if he’s about to swallow a goat – and replied to my various points of policy by saying ‘Why do you draw me so fat?’ I think I said it was because he was fat. He made his excuses and left”’ (Adams, 2009, *The Daily Telegraph*, 24th Jan).

^{xxii} Muriel Chamberlain (1988) describes the rising antipathy between the French and British press about each other’s policies at the turn of the century. This reached a fever pitch during the Boer war with the arrival of General Kitchener in South Africa in November 1900. Op.cit.

^{xxiii} There is a large amount of literature on the nature of ‘Marianne’, ‘John Bull’ and ‘Britannia’, most of whose histories fall outside the tight focus of this study. The most comprehensive scholarship on ‘Marianne’ is to be found in Maurice Agulhon’s three books, *Marianne au combat*, *Marianne au pouvoir* and *Les métamorphoses de Marianne*. On ‘John Bull’, Tamara Hunt and John Arbuthnot cover the figure’s historical and political symbolism.

^{xxiv} Tamara Hunt concentrates on late Georgian political caricature and analyses how the figure “demonstrates that caricature played a vital role in this redefinition of what it meant to be British.../ The public’s increasing interest in political controversies meant that satirists turned their attention to individuals and the issues involved” (Tamara Hunt, 2003, Op.cit. p.1-6).

^{xxv} ‘Paul Cambon to Delcassé’ (London, 10 April, 1900) *Delcassé papers 14* Ministère des Affaires des Etrangères.

^{xxvi} WO108/400 – ‘Boer War Press Censorship file’, London: National Archives

^{xxvii} The only reference to British disapproval toward the reaction to a cartoon is the specific treatment meted out to The Duke of Orleans after he commented favourably to *Le Rire* and its obscene image of Queen Victoria in February 1901. He was blackballed from all London’s gentlemen’s clubs: a peculiarly English social punishment (National Archives, FO7/1309).

^{xxviii} *Les lois scélérates* of 1893- see endnote ix.

^{xxix} Dr W J Leyds was the Boer Diplomatic Agent to the Transvaal who travelled to European cities and America during the Boer War seeking to strengthen support for his nation. Raphael Samuel (1989) writes of the British press’s relationship with Dr Leyds before the outbreak of war. “Leyds and his Consul-General Montagu White had tried to influence public opinion by giving money to journalists like the left liberal F Reginald Statham (whose financial involvement was exposed in an embarrassing way in 1900) ...” [among other Boer sympathisers] (Samuel, 1989, Op.cit.p.117).

^{xxx} Muriel Chamberlain offers a caveat on considering ‘public opinion’ on Foreign Policy. “In considering the nineteenth century, the historian is at the mercy of accidents of recording and survival. It is all too easy to equate public opinion with press opinion” (Chamberlain, 1988, Op.cit p.14). However, she says nothing about political cartoons.

^{xxxi} No 243 was issued on the 25th November 1905. However, the leaflet itself is not dated and was one that also appeared in several editions and advertising supplements along with other regular publicity sheets. These sheets appear mainly in collected albums where their chance of survival was greater than that of those slipped into separate editions sold from kiosks and bookshops.

^{xxxii} Translates as follows. “Today, I saw the King... He received me when he was the Prince of Wales, with good-naturedness, but he spoke much about French caricatures. The fact is that there is one of them in, I do not know which publication, ‘Rire’ or another, which exceeds the limits of good taste. It is a helmeted Britannia bawd looking over her shoulder, raising her skirt and shows all that you can imagine. However, on that which you can imagine, while being well what it must be, is however the exact resemblance of King Edward. It is very well done, but it is scandalous.”

^{xxxiii} A normal week’s print run usually comprised of 40,000 copies.

^{xxxiv} Ordinary people seem to accept a rule that means appalling acts may be done in the name of glory for that state. Concentration camps merely conceived of as a form of bureaucracy by the military further enhances the impression of that state’s efficiency. The Imperialism of 1901 may be seen as a lesser form of totalitarianism that resulted in the British Boer War policy determining their Boer prisoners were treated with bureaucratic contempt in Government policy; and also by association in the conservative press as ‘indescribably filthy’. It is interesting that conservative cartoons of the Boer War reflect only the efficiencies or inefficiencies of high command but provide no comment about those whom British policy affected. For example, *Punch* never commented on the prisoners’ fate or conditions. Hannah Arendt, writing in *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil* (1963) about Adolf Eichmann’s war trial (the architect of the Final Solution), notes that Eichmann asserted that he was just doing his job.

^{xxxv} Ideas about patriotism and nationalism from figures in the public eye vary according to each author’s perspective. French president Charles de Gaulle defined patriotism and nationalism as follows: ‘Patriotism is when love of your own people comes first; nationalism, when hate for people other than your own comes first’ (De Gaulle, 1969). Anarchist Emma Goldman elaborated on the theme. ‘Patriotism assumes that our globe is divided into little spots, each one surrounded by an iron gate. Those who have had the fortune of being born on some particular spot, consider themselves better, nobler, grander, and more intelligent than the living beings inhabiting any other spot. It is, therefore, the duty of everyone living on that chosen spot to fight, kill, and die in the attempt to impose his superiority upon all the others. The inhabitants of the other spots reason in like manner, of course ...’ (Goldman, 2003, p.104). American Democrat Senator George McGovern refined a view on patriotism in terms of transcending a nation’s policy: ‘The highest patriotism is not a blind acceptance of official policy, but a love of one’s country deep enough to call her to a higher plain (*sic*)’ (McGovern, 2006, Op.cit.).

^{xxxvi} There are twelve solely male-figure cartoons in Linley Sambourne's body of work and ten in Jean Veber's collection. Each represents around fifty per cent of the total images respective to each cartoonist. Other images are either mixed with female or abstract images.

^{xxxvii} The original was written in 1901 under the title *Essai d'une psychologie politique du peuple anglais au XIXe siècle* and published in Paris.

^{xxxviii} At first glance images of the same figure appear to be different – for example the Kitchener pairing on page 274 – but politically opposed cartoonists employ exactly the same tactics to convey an impression of strength and weakness. The only difference between such cartoons, aside from the parent magazine's political slant, is in the individual cartoonist's personal style of execution.

^{xxxix} Emily Hobhouse: 'The women never express,' she wrote, 'a wish that their men must give way. It must be fought out now, they think, to the bitter end.' (National Archives, WO32/8061)

^{xl} Women and children in concentration camps: 26,251 deaths were reported, of whom 22,074 were children (NA WO32/8008); Pakenham (2004, p.517). In Potchefstroom Camp, Lloyd George announced that 50,000 women and children were killed per year.

^{xli} Sambourne, in his 'Smoking Sedition' of 20th February 1886, drew Mr Punch hanging three puppets, representing the socialists Henry Hyndman, John Burns and Henry Champion who were accused of seditious conspiracy. A case was taken out against *Punch* but came to nothing (Ormond, 2010, p.149).

^{xli} Michel and Elisabeth Dixmier in their 1974 book on *L'Assiette au Beurre* cite this reference as D14U3 (619) – The catalogue has since been renumbered to APS 25/64/1

Declaration

I, Kate Allison, declare that this is all my own work.

A Final Note

105 years after Sambourne's death, the cartoon still remains outside the realms of high art:

YOUNG **B**RITISH **A**RTISTS

BY BIRCH



Birch (2010) *Private Eye* No. 1258:12 (Drawing 6 x 13 cm)